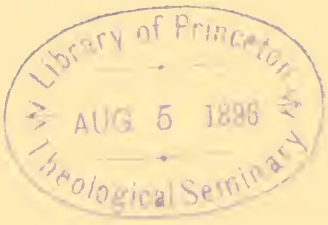
THE CHURCH AND TOWN PROBLEMS

W. MOORE EDE



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THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH

TO SOME OF THE

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THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH

TO SOME OF THE

SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF TOWN LIFE

BY THE

REV. W. MOORE EDE, M.A.

RECTOR OF GATESHEAD; HON. CANON OF DURHAM.

WITH A PREFACE

BY THE

RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

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DEDICATED

TO

ALFRED MARSHALL

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF CAMBRIDGE,

WHO BY HIS STIMULATING TEACHING

FIRST AROUSED THE INTEREST OF THE AUTHOR

IN SOCIAL QUESTIONS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

WHEN Canon Moore Ede asked me to write a few words introductory to his Lectures, I naturally answered that 'they required no words from me: they would speak for themselves.' Yet I cannot but most gladly commend them to the study of our Clergy and Laity, who feel with a vague sense of sad helplessness the needs and sorrows and dangers of our great towns.

The Lectures are not the speculations of a theorist. Every page reflects the experience of one who has been for fifteen years Rector of a large Tyneside Parish, and taken his full share of municipal work as a Guardian of the Poor, and Member of the School Board, of which he is now Chairman. I made Mr Ede's acquaintance first when he came to Cambridge in 1883 to tell students of Social Questions there some lessons of the Relief Committee at Gateshead, on which he had been recently engaged. In recent years he has had the happy experience of presiding as chairman in several meetings

for settlement of trade disputes; and in the Conferences on Industrial Problems, between Employers and Employed, which have taken place here periodically since I was called to Durham, his services have been invaluable.

But if Mr Ede has been actively engaged in social works, he traces such work back to its only adequate source and inspiration. He recognises the true position of the Christian Church and of the Christian Minister. It is not, he shews, the office of the Church to propose any social programme but to enforce eternal principles. Her Ministers must labour unweariedly to awaken the conscience and prepare the advent of a better order through the service of men won for Christ. None the less he assumes that in the fulfilment of this duty they will patiently and courageously follow the methods which they think best fitted to bring the conditions of life into harmony with what we believe to be the Divine destiny of the people. It is equally true that material improvements cannot regenerate a nation, and that character can transfigure circumstances. Again and again when I have been filled with despair in considering the housing of the poor, I have recovered heart by remembering Miss Octavia Hill's experience,

who tells us that she 'knows many of the prettiest, 'happiest, little homes, which consist of a single 'room.'

In any case the changes, which it is the Mission of the Church to accomplish, cannot be accomplished without sacrifice. 'Our towns cannot be rebuilt, our 'social inequalities reduced, without much sacrifice of 'luxuries on the part of the rich' (p. 29). We are tempted to think that apostolic warnings and claims in regard to material wealth are withdrawn; but they are the expression of an immutable law. In the presence of urgent needs we must learn to recognise that nothing 'of the things which we possess is our own.' The resources of the Church and her real treasures (p. 64) are always the same; and if we reflect, it may well seem that the wretched, the ignorant, the dissolute, the rebellious, whose vices are due outwardly to the circumstances of modern industry and life, are in a most special sense committed to the care of Christians. The kiss which St Francis is said to have bestowed upon the leper may have a direct lesson for ourselves.

For effectual sacrifice is not of money only. There must be sacrifice of leisure, of feelings, of habits, of tastes. The systematic organisation of 'Charity' tends

to obscure this fundamental truth and to rob habitual deeds of mercy of all grace and tenderness. Some one said—and the words are hardly an exaggeration—'Give everything except money'; but now the elaborate machinery which is provided for meeting every form of distress seems to imply that nothing but money is needed. The specialisation of the relief of human wants has become a profession. But the relief which can be given without the personal ministries of love is at the best destitute of moral value to the receiver, and for the most part to the giver also. The contributions which provide it have rather the character of a ransom than of a brother's offering to a brother. The money-gift indeed hardly ceases to be hurtful till it is hallowed by the presence of sympathy. We must give ourselves, before we can give without stirring suspicion any part of our possessions. And here a great door of hope is opened. Let us think for one moment what would be the difference if every generous subscriber to some scheme for bettering the condition of the poor would himself make some one poor person among his neighbours—'a brother of low degree'—his friend, would win his confidence, would take pains to understand his view of life, would lift him up to a truer conception

of his own nature—the nature which Christ has taken to Himself—in its capacities and in its destiny.

But such efforts, it will be said, would take time. It is true; and is it not also true that we owe to GOD, and to man for GOD'S sake, an offering of our time, and require ourselves the moral discipline which such a use of it would bring[1]?

At the same time ministries of love have their stern aspect. The other side of love is righteousness; and if no effort can be spared to raise the life of citizens to a reasonable standard, cases will arise when coercion and restraint must be exercised on those whose habitual conduct tends to corrupt. Such procedure is in form a novelty in our legislation. It is well therefore that we should be asked to consider the words of a writer like Mr C. Booth who thinks that 'some day the individualist community on which we build our faith will 'find itself obliged for its own sake to take charge of 'the lives of those who, from whatever cause, are incapable of existence up to the required standard' (p. 60).

[1] In connexion with these thoughts may I refer to a suggestive book by Mr J. Goldie, *The poor and their happiness*, cc. ix.—xii. Greatly as I differ from the assumptions which he makes, I feel his criticisms of modern methods of dealing with the poor are most instructive.

In this respect the time seems to have already come when effective measures should be taken for the compulsory and corrective detention of habitual drunkards in industrial retreats maintained and governed by the State. For the incorrigibly indolent and shiftless another kind of discipline in some form of home or foreign colonization appears to offer the most hopeful remedy; and perhaps we may look for a not distant day when every County Council will have an experimental farm to which those may be committed under proper regulations who have proved themselves incapable of earning a sufficient maintenance.

The questions involved in the last paragraph require a full discussion from many points of sight. May I suggest that we have gatherings in which they could be treated effectively? I do not wish to disparage for a moment the interest of our Church Congresses, but no one would maintain that the discussions there are exhaustive—I have an ineffaceable recollection of being required to deal in twenty minutes (if I remember rightly) with the question of 'Critical scepticism.' Might not the results be more substantial if the Congress were devoted to the examination of some one great subject: if, for example, a whole Congress held in

a great industrial centre were occupied with the vast problem of the Unemployed: with the varieties, the causes, the consequences, the remedies of unemployment and under-employment? The Meetings would, no doubt, be far less entertaining than those which are occupied by about forty Essays on eighteen groups of subjects and brief comments upon them; but they would be far more likely to produce definite and valuable fruit and to indicate promising lines of action.

But I must not stand any longer between the Reader and the Book. No one, I believe, can study Canon Moore Ede's Lectures and look with open eyes on the common life of men, without feeling the range and the gravity of the problems of great towns by which his attention is necessarily arrested; and without finding some fragment of work which he can do. To call out such service is the highest reward of the teacher. Our hope for the future lies in the cooperation of men who recognise the grandeur of the corporate life of the Church, and in the light of that vision gladly accomplish the work, great or small, which has been prepared for them to do.

B. F. DUNELM.

Auckland Castle,
Feb. 5th, 1896.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

LECTURE I. The Function of the Church in the Work of Social Reform 1

LECTURE II. The Problem of the Unemployed and the Duty of the Church 32

LECTURE III. The Homes of the People 75

LECTURE IV. The Attitude of the Church towards the Vices of our Towns. 105

LECTURE I.

THE FUNCTION OF THE CHURCH IN THE WORK OF SOCIAL REFORM.

1 Chron. xii. 32.

The children of Issachar were men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do.

The prominent figure of the great religious revival of the last century was John Wesley. The England which he knew so well and for which he did so much was an agricultural country in which manufactures were subsidiary, and for the most part home, industries: it was a land of small country towns and villages. Bristol was the only city out of London which contained 100,000 inhabitants. Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Manchester, Liverpool, Newcastle were then what we should call country towns, with a population of from 20,000 to 40,000. To-day all is changed: England is now a vast industrial community, the people are congregated together in great masses in towns.

Every census reveals an increase, not only absolutely, but relatively, in our town population. According to the last census in England and Wales, 20,802,770 dwelt in towns, only 8,198,248 in rural districts; 71·7 per cent., or nearly three-fourths of Englishmen, live in towns.

An industrial revolution which in the latter half of the last century, when Wesley was in the height of his active missionary labour, began with the invention of the spinning-jenny, power-loom, and steam-engine has changed England and English life. It is a change which has gone on with accelerating speed as invention has succeeded invention, and industry has become organised on an ever-increasing scale. Every bridge, every improved road, every increase in the facilities by which men can come together or act together, tends in the direction of concentrating population. Railways and telegraphic communication have not only rendered the concentration of population possible, they have rendered it inevitable[1].

[1] Some have expressed the hope that now electricity is displacing steam as a motor, and can be most economically generated by water power, the influence of the earlier inventions may be counteracted and the population leave the great cities and be scattered along the water-courses of our hills. There is no sign of any such change. All the signs are in the other direction. It is more likely that electricity generated by the mountain waterfalls will be brought to the towns than that the towns will go to the mountains. The electricity generated by the use of a fraction of the fall of Niagara is to be conveyed to towns within a radius of two hundred miles.

The majority of our countrymen in the present are, and still more in the future will be, dwellers in towns, therefore there are no more important problems which can engage attention than the problems of town life—for the concentration of the population into towns has created serious problems. The mere massing together of such numbers in limited space has serious effect on the physical health, and this reacts on the moral health. The factory system which prevails, has separated the owners of the machinery of production from those who work the machinery, has separated the man from the tools, and as a consequence there is often conflict of interests which produces bitter feeling, and a state of things sometimes akin to civil war. Our world-wide market is uncertain and unstable, consequently employment fluctuates, and at times our streets are filled with those who, seeking work, find none, and whose enforced idleness leaves them no alternative but slow starvation or semi-starvation. We produce an amount of wealth per head never attained before, and yet multitudes live in abject poverty. In London in 1888, more than one out of every five deaths occurred in a public institution, and it seems probable that in the richest city in the world one out of every four persons dies dependent on charity. We have gathered together means of satisfying the needs of life such as never were gathered together before[1], and yet there are multitudes whose lives are

[1] T. Hertzka has recently made some interesting calculations

so dreary that their only ideas of enjoyment are the deadening of dull care by the excitement of strong drink, or the hazard of gambling. Matthew Arnold has said, "We call ourselves in the sublime and aspiring language of religion, Children of God—Children of God; it is an immense pretension and how are we to justify it? By the work which we do and the words which we speak—and the works which we, collective children of God, do, our grand centre of life, our city which we have builded for us to dwell in, is London," and he might have added Birmingham, Manchester, Newcastle; for what is true of London is in its degree true of every one of our towns, they all reproduce the same features, and we are dissatisfied with them all; they are not fitting products of the work of the children of God.

The Growing Discontent.

The most hopeful sign of the times is the existence of discontent with our towns and the lives lived in

bearing on this point. He estimates that in the civilised nations of the earth modern discoveries and inventions—especially the application of steam to industry—can perform twelve times as much work as all the men living in these nations. In other words it is just the same as if twelve slaves were working for each man or sixty for each family; whereas in ancient Athens there were only 10 slaves for each Athenian family and these had to maintain themselves as well as their masters. And yet according to Mr C. Booth's careful analysis of London Labour and Life 32·1 per cent. or nearly one-third of the population of our greatest and wealthiest city are either paupers, or only just able to scrape together a bare subsistence.

them. This discontent is spreading with remarkable rapidity. In 1884 Mr Rae, a careful, well-informed writer, stated in the *Contemporary Review*, "there is no sufficient reason for believing that Socialism has secured any serious foothold in England." In 1894 the Trades Congress adopted the celebrated resolution in favour of collective ownership of land and capital, and did not rescind it in 1895. Thirty-eight avowed Socialists went to the poll and polled 64,000 votes, not so many as they hoped perhaps, but sufficient to show that there are a large number willing to risk all in an endeavour to reconstruct society, in the hope that the result of the gigantic leap in the dark will be to secure greater justice and more general well-being.

But the spread of Socialism throughout the whole of what has been called Western Civilisation is only one of many indications of the trend of opinion, of the growing conviction that the principle of individualism, which was the principle at the root of the great religious movement of the Reformation, and which expresses itself in the economic relationships of men as free competition, has failed to produce a satisfactory social state, and must fail, because the interests of the community as a whole are not always identical with the separate interests of the individuals who compose it. It has been efficient as a stimulus to exertion, it has promoted efficiency of industrial effort and been a powerful factor in human progress, but it has sacrificed

the weak to the strong, the have-nots to those that have; for those that have, who possess the instruments of production, are the strong. The restless striving of each to do the best he can for himself, while productive of marvellous activity, has not conduced to a well-organised community, has not secured the well-being of all. We are entering upon a new era, an era of effort after a higher organisation of the community which shall secure more general well-being. In the sober words of Professor Marshall, "Now at last we are setting ourselves seriously to enquire whether it is necessary that there should be any so-called lower classes at all, that is, whether there need be large numbers of people doomed from their birth to hard work in order to provide for others the requisites of a refined and cultured life, while they themselves are prevented by their poverty and toil from having any share or part in that life."

I need not elaborate this point. I may take it for granted that we all recognise in the growing prominence of the Social Question in its various aspects indications that the work which lies before us in the coming century is the reconstruction and reorganisation of society, with the view of securing more general well-being, more equitable distribution of wealth and a wider diffusion of all that conduces to the fulness of human life.

Has the Church a Social Work?

What is the function of the Church in this work of social reconstruction? What part ought she to play in the work of rebuilding our towns and realising in them better social conditions? Called as I am to live and work as a clergyman in a large and populous town, that is a question which daily comes home to me—the difficulty which I have to face—that is the question I want, as far as I am able, to answer.

That the Church has a function to perform is manifest. Christ came into the world to redeem the world, to rescue men from the evils which oppressed them, and to make the lives of all men what the lives of the children of God should be. The Church of Christ exists for the purpose of carrying on the same work; its *raison d'être* is the salvation of men, the establishment of a sound, healthy life among men—sound and healthy because based on the true principles of life—the principles revealed through Christ. We believe that through Christ we know the divine laws of life: the principles which if followed out will save man and save society. We believe that every evil which exists is occasioned by men's departure from the true principles of life: therefore, believing we hold the key to the problems which perplex us, we of all men are called on to be up and doing and take our part in the work of social reconstruction: we must be like men of Issachar,

men who have "understanding of the times to know what Israel ought to do."

Louis Kossuth, the great Hungarian patriot, when asked to suggest a remedy for social evils, said, "If the doctrines of Christianity that are found in the New Testament could be applied to human society I believe the solution of the Social Problem would be got at." As believers in the divine character and mission of Christ, we too believe this. We believe in the Kingdom of Heaven being set up on earth; that is the subject of Christ's preaching, the object of His desire. For the realisation of a social state in which men live according to the laws of God and in obedience to His Will we pray every day, and for our hope and encouragement our Scriptures close with a vision of the perfected city, the New Jerusalem brought down from above and realised on earth. That is our ideal, our hope: what can we do to help in the task of bringing the cities of our land nearer that ideal? The work of the Church is to labour for the realisation of this ideal: how is the Church to do it?

Improvement of Man.

Two lines of possible action at once present themselves: one direct action on men; the other indirect action through the circumstances which influence men. If by direct action on men we can change their character, that change will very soon express itself in their sur-

roundings. The changed men will alter the conditions of life and their relationships to others. The man who did most to reform the social life of England in the last century was John Wesley. His appeal was direct, it was an appeal to the individual; his aim was to reach the heart and conscience of each man in the crowds which gathered round him. His words were the instrument whereby men were brought to a sense of the sinfulness of their lives and the desire quickened in them to live henceforth more as children of God. His converts were for the most part among the poorest, the most degraded,—as among the early converts of the Church, "not many mighty, not many noble" were called,—how low they had been sunk is evident from the observations in his diary, and the need he found for directions as to destruction of vermin. Those whom his appeal reached became changed characters, and the changed character soon expressed itself in changed surroundings; the homes of the Methodists were cleaner than those of their neighbours, their children were cared for and clad, they set about improving their social condition in many ways; they were thrifty, and the training they gained in managing their religious societies and the development of their character which resulted, enabled them to take a leading part in those self-help associations, Friendly Societies, Trade Unions, and Cooperative Societies, which have done so much to elevate and improve the wage-earning classes. The

same results follow the same causes now. In manufacturing England as well as in agricultural England, in towns as well as in the country, in this century as in the last, the direct appeal to the individual does change characters, and the changed character expresses itself in its surroundings. The Church can never, must never neglect the direct appeal to the conscience of each man; the conversion of sinners is an important part of its work—the most important part. The Church must aim at bringing home to each individual the conviction of sin, must strive to stir in each man a longing for a higher, nobler, more divine life, and must build up character.

In so far as the Church is stirring men's consciences and building up character by bringing men into conscious relationship to God, training them to surrender their will to Him, and to do their "duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call" them, it is doing true social work. It is making them better sons and daughters, better fathers and mothers, better neighbours, nobler and more righteous men. And as is often pointed out, the first requisite of a better social state is the elevation of the individuals who compose it to a higher type of character. From an economic point of view Cooperation is sound in principle, the rock on which Cooperative Production has been so often wrecked is not economic but moral, faults of temper, want of mutual consideration, lack of confidence between men,

selfishness and dishonesty. It is the "manners that maketh man" which is wanted.

The Church is helping to render a more righteous and equitable society possible by its varied machinery for training men and developing character. Sermons and classes, clubs and institutes, Confirmation with its confession of the obligation to live righteously, the use of the Means of Grace whereby weak human wills are strengthened, are all methods by which the Church trains character and so does useful social work. Is it sufficient? Is there no other work required of the Church of Christ?

Improvement of Environment.

At the very time when Wesley and his colleagues were doing so much to raise and elevate those whom their direct appeal reached, the factory system was born, and the owners were filling their mills with children taken from the workhouses and subjecting them to conditions of toil which were destructive to physical health, absolutely ruinous to moral health, and left no opportunity for development of spiritual life.

The Church, whose aim is the salvation of men, cannot ignore economic and social surroundings; they are influences which are ever present, day by day and hour by hour they play a powerful part in fashioning and moulding life. The child of the city slums whose frame is weakened by breathing the vitiated air

of a crowded dwelling, and whose moral nature is blighted by the sights and sounds amid which he dwells, has not much chance of growing up virtuous. Transplant him to the colonies under the care of Miss Ray, or some other agent, who will place him with people who live decently, who will care for his welfare, and with whom he will have fresh air and good food, and the chance of his living a good and noble life is enormously increased.

It is proverbial that pauper children trained in a Workhouse rarely lose the pauper taint and become self-respecting citizens, hence the most enlightened Boards of Guardians endeavour to change the circumstances which surround the lives of the children under their care: they board them out, or erect cottage homes away from the Workhouse. We are fully alive to the influence of surroundings on the character of our own children, we watch over the companionships they form, and are careful as to the reputed character of the school which they attend. We are all influenced by our surroundings, they make their mark on us and on our character. We recognise "the hall mark" of the University when we meet a man in after life; the circumstances of his residence at Cambridge or Oxford have left an indelible mark on his character. Man is not an independent unit—with all his powers and capacities, even when those capacities reach to genius, he is a creature who bears on him the stamp of his age and

circumstances. We are children of the past and fathers of the future.

"There, but for the grace of God, goes John Bradford," said a great puritan divine, as he saw some poor wretch conveyed in the hangman's cart to Tyburn. As we look into a Monday morning police-court and see some wretched loafer, dirty and unkempt, brought up on the charge of being drunk and disorderly for, perhaps, the twentieth or thirtieth time, we may well say, "There, but for the mercy of the circumstances in which my lot in life has been cast, there stand I." For what better should we have been had we been brought up, as he, in a narrow tenement without training in decency and self-control, our playground the poverty-stricken street, the idea of pleasure presented to us as a drunken orgy, our only livelihood chance jobs, and no certainty, no security, no orderliness, no method in our lives? Such are the influences which surround and degrade thousands of lives in our towns.

Should the Church frame a Programme?

Recognising, as we all do, the influence of surroundings on character, there are some who would have the Church,—if not the Church of England alone, all denominations of Christians,—formulate a programme of social reforms, run candidates for all electoral bodies, and having carried them inaugurate the millennium. More than once with the noblest desire for promoting human

well-being the Church has endeavoured to make itself master of the instrument of government, whether monarchical or republican. Whenever the Church has aimed at such power it has lost more than it has gained. We are not without object lessons of such failures, on a large scale in the Latin Church, on a smaller scale in the brief attempt to set up a reign of the saints in England. The history of our own Anglican communion is not without warning against too close identification with the ruling powers, and the temptation to use those powers for the furtherance of selfish ends, and to trust to the arm of the flesh rather than the power of the Spirit.

Social life is complex and dependent on economic relationships, and wise reforms require a true grasp of economic principles. If the Church of England or a union of all denominations is to formulate a social programme it must adopt some economic principles and reject others, and therefore must pronounce authoritatively on the most intricate and complicated relations of life. While it is true that Bishops and Councils have erred, it is still more true that Professors of Economics have erred[1]. Every reform when it comes

[1] "We have learned by sharp experience how totally unfit the Church is to anticipate or to control the movements of knowledge. Her unfitness has proved that any such attempt was in excess of the intention which created her. And it would be no less stupid than it would be fatal to re-enact this blunder in the department of Economic Science just at the very moment when she has discovered

into the domain of practical politics is largely a question of detail; about details men, and good men too, will ever be divided in opinion. Every 'how' is always a matter of dispute. While individual Churchmen not only may, but ought to identify themselves with any party or association whose policy or programme seems to them calculated to bring about a better realisation of Christian principles, the Church in its corporate capacity must stand aloof from, and apart from, all parties, the preacher of principles, the inspirer of ideals which each member must endeavour to realise according to his personal judgment. For the Church to identify itself with any party is an abdication of its true and higher function, and would in a fatal fashion secularise the Church. If I interpret aright the temptation in the wilderness, it was an attempt to entangle Christ in a secular policy for the realisation of an ideal society.

Moreover, the city is the expression of the life that is, of the thoughts and habits of men as they are, and however much we attempt the reform of outward things, there will be no real reform which is not the recognition of higher and truer principles. We express this in other words when we say we cannot legislate in advance of public opinion. The consequence of so doing is that either the law is ignored and evaded, or the evil which

her mistake in all other regions of knowledge." Canon Scott Holland, *Economic Review*, Jan. 1895.

the law aimed at destroying assumes a new form[1]. If the city is to be reconstructed on an improved plan it must be because the citizens have realised higher principles, and therefore construct the city, and the relationships of men in it, more in accordance with the laws of God.

Christ's Method.

Has the Church then no social message? Has it nothing to say concerning the reconstruction of the city? Yes, it has much to say, but it must say it in Christ's way. In metaphysics there are voices crying back to Kant; back to Plato;—in our economic and social difficulties let us raise the cry, "back to Christ." He came to redeem the world, to reform it and to raise man. His method of redemption was to reveal God and the true law of life for men. Christ's revelation of God is the revelation of the character and attitude towards men of that unseen power which lies behind all that we see.

1. Our Lord reveals that power as a Moral Power—a God of Righteousness, according to the principles of whose moral rule it is as necessary for men to order their lives as it is for them to do so in relation to the laws of nature in the physical world. Human well-being can only be obtained by life lived, and actions done, in conformity with the laws of the universe; for these are the expression of the will of the unseen ruler.

[1] The history of prohibition affords abundant illustration of this.

"Seek ye first His kingdom and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." "I came not to do mine own will but the will of Him that sent me." Christ teaches that the true principle of life is conformity to the will of God, who is righteous.

2. Again, our Lord reveals to us that the human relationship of Fatherhood expresses the attitude of the Unseen Power towards all men and towards each individual man. As all are equally His children, He cares for the slave, or the degraded denizen of a town slum, as much as for the cultured lady or the monarch; desires the well-being of one as much as the other. The Fatherhood of God carries with it and involves the recognition of the Brotherhood of men, is its true basis, the ground of its obligation, and has a far-reaching social significance[1].

3. And lastly, our Lord grants us the Revelation of the law of life as love—as altruism—"that ye should love one another as I have loved you"; love expressing itself as self-sacrifice; love stronger than hate, or greed, or selfishness. Love, the true principle of family life, which places the well-being of the family above self-aggrandisement.

To the power of these principles Christ trusted, and not to any programme of reform. When He lived as

[1] "The historic fact to be noted is that this idea of the fundamental equality of men, when one goes beneath accidental differences and social distinctions, has dealt and was intended to deal the death-blow both to the caste and the slavery of the world." Dr W. Knight, *The Christian Ethic*, p. 90.

man among men there existed a worse form of selfish oppression of man by man than any which exists among us, viz. slavery—which gave one man absolute control over the life of another, and as that involved control by man of woman, slavery was productive of awful immorality. Christ put forward no plan of emancipation, but the principles of His revelation undermined and destroyed the curse of slavery. 'Ye are children of one Father, slaves are brothers in the Lord,' was the principle declared; then there followed a growing conviction that brother should not ill-treat brother. As the Christian faith spread the condition of the slave improved, and legislation concerning slavery became more humane; then the conviction gained ground that brother should not hold brother in bondage, and as that conviction grew it found expression in manumission of slaves[1].

Thus, not by force, but by the permeation of a higher ethical ideal, an appeal to the nobler sentiments of men, slavery disappeared. The more men were imbued with the spirit of Christ the more they recognised the practical claims of brotherhood; the most saintly recognised them first. No less than thirty-seven ancient

[1] "We are content to leave the decision of personal duty in detail with those who, looking to the eternal in the Person of Christ, find no rest till 'they are persuaded in their own mind' with full assurance. There was no social polemic in the apostolic age, but we cannot believe that Onesimus continued to be a slave." Westcott, *The Christian Law.*

councils of the Church passed resolutions favourable to the slaves and encouraging emancipation. The very forms of emancipation show the Christian spirit, *e.g.*, "For God's love and for her soul's health, Gatflood hath set free E. the smith and A. his wife, and all their offspring, born and unborn." Another, "A. and B. for their souls' sake set free all their serfs." The part which the Church of Christ played in this reform was the persistent insistence on the principles of Christ, and constant demonstration of how the practice of slavery was inconsistent with the principles Christians recognised. The influence of the principles of the brotherhood of man, and the infinite value in the sight of God of each soul, has been continuously working in the direction of emancipation and against class distinction and privilege, and is the true ground of the claim that in the nation each man shall count for one and no more than one. Political freedom has been gained, and now the same principles are urging us on to win for each equal opportunities of life, and to secure to each such share of the product of industry as will render self-development possible, and thus to obtain economic freedom. As with slavery so was it with the elevation of woman; she was the daughter of one Father, a sister in the Lord, on an equal footing with man in man's highest relationship. In the ideal of humanity presented by the Christian Church there was neither male nor female, no distinction of sex. It is a long, long story how the principle

was applied step by step to one relation of life after another; the last tide-mark of progress in our country was the Married Women's Property Act, and there is yet to come the recognition of woman's equal rights with man by conferring on her the same privileges as man possesses of choosing our rulers and deciding the policy of the nation. Among the principal functions of the Church in its social work must be placed the proclamation of the truly social principles of Christ.

The Church should embody Christian Principles.

The Church must practise as well as proclaim. When men do not practise what they preach their preaching is not heeded. The Christian religion is a religion in which faith in God as our Father expresses itself in brotherhood and love. All through the Gospel of Christ the performance or non-performance of social duties is the one great test. "I was an hungred and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger and ye took me in: naked and ye clothed me: I was sick and ye visited me: I was in prison and ye came unto me." And that there might be no mistake as to the meaning of the words, that men might not interpret the ministering mentioned as figurative, he adds, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

When the disciples were contending who was the chief in the Church of Christ, Christ settled the controversy for all time, saying, "He who would be greatest let him be servant to all: I am among you as He that serveth." He gave as His commandment that His followers should love one another. St John, the apostle of love—and as God is Love, we may suppose he understood better than others the nature of Christ—is very plain in his exposition of our duty to love our fellows, making that the test of love to God: "If a man say he love God and hateth his brother, he is a liar." "We know that we have passed from death unto life because we love the brethren."

The New Testament idea of the Christian Church is that of a body of men bound together by their belief in the character of God and the laws of God for social service. That, I am afraid, is not the idea which presents itself to men as the main and obvious purpose of the Christian Church. While I am well aware how much social service is done by the Christian Church in every parish in England, and I would not say a word in disparagement; it must be admitted that the world does not regard the leading feature of the Church, the main object of its members, to be social service. The aspect which presents itself to the world as the chief interest of the Church is the maintenance of certain dogmas concerning the nature of God and special forms of worship. The great complaint of the masses is that

the Church is so taken up with the concerns of the world to come, with theological doctrines and ritual, that it is of little use in helping to make this world brighter and better. This is one great reason for their alienation from the Church. If we be honest we must admit there is some justice in the complaint. The Church has failed to maintain a due relative proportion in its teaching. Undue preponderance has been given to devotional forms and theological ideas, and sufficient stress has not always been laid on the fact that they are means to an end, and that their true object is to help men to discharge better the life of social service.

When Christ lived on earth He found men excusing themselves from duty to their fellows on the plea of the higher obligations of the Deity: there was the plain duty of supporting parents—a duty comprised in the command, "Honour thy father and thy mother"; but the religious leaders of Christ's day taught that the duty was not binding if what was needed for the support of parents was declared Corban—a gift devoted to God. Christ said, "Ye have made the commandment of God of none effect by your tradition." The Christian Church has too often made dogmatic orthodoxy or ritual observance of more importance than the discharge of social service. Christ revealed God, but in that revelation He laid very little stress on the mystery of the Godhead: He laid great stress on the brotherly relations

which should exist among men as a consequence of belief in the Fatherhood of God. The Church has said a great deal about the mystery of the Godhead, and comparatively little about manifesting a brotherly spirit in all our dealings with our fellow men[1]. It has also given more attention to abstract speculation on the nature of God, and man's relation to Him, than to working out man's relation to his brother. In proclaiming Christ's Gospel we must observe Christ's proportions.

It is much easier to be interested in speculative views as to the nature of the Deity; much easier to observe forms of devotion, much easier to give money or build Churches, than to manifest love to our fellows in the acts of daily life in buying, selling, and getting gain. The Pharisees of old made long prayers and then defrauded widows. There is too much truth in the saying that in our day "men are willing to offer their prayers and praise on Sunday, if on Monday they may go into the market place and skin their fellows and sell their hides."

[1] I would not have it be supposed that I undervalue the importance of the doctrine of the Trinity and do not recognise how it is bound up with our belief in the Incarnation and the revelation to us, through the Incarnation, of God; but what seems to me at fault is that theology has not given as much attention to developing the principle of the Second Great Commandment—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"—as it has to developing explanations of the Nature of the Being of God.

Workmen do not regard the fact of a Churchman being the head of a firm, or a landlord, as any special advantage, or as security that they will receive more considerate, more brotherly treatment. Yet if all members of Christ's Church loyally endeavoured to follow Christ's teaching and live according to Christ's principles, Churchmanship would carry a certificate of character with it, an assurance of a spirit of brotherly consideration for the claims and needs of others, and Church work would be a certificate of honesty and genuineness. A great deal is said in our time about sound Churchmanship—true Churchmanship is the fulfilment of the law of love, the carrying into life the law of Christ, an honest endeavour to love our neighbour.

If the Church is to help in solving the social problems of our age it must first remove the beam from its own eye, it must be a more living embodiment of the spirit of social service, it must insist on love as the great essential in its members. When men see Christ's spirit in Christ's flock they will more readily believe in the efficacy of Christ's principles to solve our social problems.

It is because I feel this strongly that I emphasize this as one of the most important parts in the social work of the Church. Moreover, all reforms have emanated from groups of sanctified men. Small groups, whose own lives have been raised to a higher standard,

have enormous leavening and elevating power. Those who know anything of modern civic life, know how true it is now as of old, that the ten righteous men save the city, that a few earnest high-souled men are the source and centre from which all the best influence radiates. From one hundred and twenty men and women in the upper room at Jerusalem who had been trained and educated to higher views of life, spread the influence which displaced the heathen ideal by the Christian ethic. It is the function of the Church to raise up groups of men and women with higher ideals of Christian life who shall be the salt of the earth, and purify our civic life by the influence of their higher standard. By raising the life of her own acknowledged members the Church raises the life of the whole community.

The Prophetic Office of the Church.

Granted that the Church is imbued with Christ's spirit of love, and desires to give effect to it, how are we to act? What can the Church do to mitigate the evils which we behold in our towns? how contribute to solve the problems of the unemployed, the better housing of the people, the reduction of the inequalities of wealth, the degradation of life through animalism, coming out either in drunkenness, immorality, or indolence? How shall we prove ourselves like the men of Issachar, men who have "understanding of the times" and "know what Israel ought to do"? We must go back to

Christ, back to first principles, and emphasize the contrast between what is and the true brotherly relationship which should exist. Our function is to emphasize principles. When the springs of action and emotion are right, conduct will be automatically transfigured. By emphasizing principles we form public opinion, and that when formed takes shape in laws and rules of conduct[1]. It has been truly said, "There is one social force which is not always taken into account, but which produces effects of acknowledged importance and magnitude. It is the power of awakened conscience," and it is the function of Christ's Church to awaken conscience as to the enormity of the evils which exist, the injustice of existing social conditions. This is the prophetic office of the Church. As the prophets of Israel stood against the unrighteousness of the hour, and contrasted the ideal Israel, the Israel wedded to Jehovah and His law, with the actual evils in Israel around them, so must the Church now, in the same spirit, stand out in vigorous protest against the evils of our towns, and contrast the City of God, where righteousness, truth and love prevail, with the cities which now are.

[1] "The Christian army has plenty of work to do, but for the strategics of the next decade or generation it is necessary for the leaders to think rather than to act, and those advisers will most commend themselves who are not too forward to suggest schemes, but prefer at present to indicate principles."

The Power of the Keys.

When the conscience is awakened it desires and needs guidance. "What must I do to be saved?" is its cry, and the Church must be prepared to answer the demand of those who, their conscience awakened to existing evils, desire to live more righteously and brotherly in this present life. This involves thinking out the ethics of life under existing industrial conditions. As Bishop Westcott has expressed it, "Churchmen are called on to consider theories and problems of social life, the idea of social organisation, the ethics of industrial enterprise, the spiritual responsibility of employers, the present relationship of Capital and Labour, the crowding of masses of men into small spaces." This requires thought and study, for the problems involved are intricate and difficult. But it is the business of the Church to use the power of the keys, to bind and loose, to decide what is right and wrong in buying and selling, in utilising or withholding land or other possessions from use, and it would be well if theological schools and professorships took as part of their task the consideration of the ethical problems of industrial life: it is a more pressingly important branch of theology than the study of past heresies, important though these may be[1]. It is

[1] The second of three objects which the Christian Social Union proposes to its members aptly describes what I, with all due deference,

not uncommon for business men to say it is impossible in these days to carry on business on Christian principles. It is for the Church to examine such opinions, to point out how it may be done. Where it cannot be done on Christian principles it ought not to be done at all. Not possible to carry on business on Christian principles! There was a time when men could not profess Christianity and keep their heads on their shoulders, and then they died cheerfully as Christians.

We need consideration of the Christian ethics of our industrial relationships; we need a Christian criticism of suggested social reforms; a careful sympathetic consideration of them in the light of Christian principles. Should such examination disclose, mingled with much which is righteous and good, proposals which violate justice, or are contrary to the principles of Christ, then the Church must stand firm; she must be like Athanasius against the world, whatever the cost or sacrifice.

think ought to be one of the chief functions of Theological Professors in our Universities. We need the solution of present day problems more than expositions however able of solutions which men in years gone by arrived at as solutions of the problems which confronted them. The words of the C. S. U. are these: "To study (in common) how to apply the moral truths and principles of Christianity to the social and economic difficulties of the present time."

The Obligations of Brotherhood.

I can quite conceive it possible that in the coming century the Church may be called on to oppose popular opinion and contend for the sanctity of marriage; the necessity of home as the school ordained by God for the training of citizens; the reality of personal responsibility, and the existence of sin. I may be wrong; but there are not wanting signs of popular opinion adverse to home life, and a tendency to undermine responsibility by undue stress on the influence of circumstances. I think, too, the Church will have to emphasize the obligations of brotherhood, and work out its various bearings more than it has hitherto done. Brotherhood is apt to become a phrase expressive of weak sentimentalism, and men forget that the recognition of brotherhood carries with it certain claims on those who are so recognised, the claim that they live as brothers. In families, if children will not live rightly we punish them, and by such punishment train them in the necessary habits and duties of family life. So in the brotherhood of men; if men will not discharge the duties of brothers, will not live brotherly, then in the interests of the family it is not unjust to insist on their discharging the duties which they owe to the family. We are recognising this more and more in our towns by enforcement of sanitary legislation, factory regulations, the punishment of parents for neglect of

children, and in many other ways. I mention this because there is a tendency to overlook this aspect of brotherhood, and to forget that love has its stern side, can and does punish, and can be righteously angry.

The Duty of Sacrifice.

What else can the Church do[1]? It can inculcate the duty of sacrifice. Our towns cannot be rebuilt, existing social inequalities reduced, without much sacrifice of luxuries on the part of the rich. We cannot rebuild our cities, we cannot bring within the reach of the masses much of the brightness and joy of life which they do not now possess, without great cost; we cannot level up without to some extent levelling down. In plainer words, the removal of many of the evils of our towns means more rates—a heavier contribution from those who possess most wealth. It means sacrifice on the part of the rich and powerful—a sacrifice which the Church should urge them to render willingly—for the strong should bear the burdens of the weak.

More than sacrifice of wealth is needed: a drawing together of classes is wanted which demands sacrifice of pride, exclusiveness, and social isolation, and, above

[1] To say, 'The Church ought to do this' means that if the Church be what it should, men and women will not be found wanting prepared for this particular sphere of service.

all, as we shall see as we examine some of the chief town problems, there is much need of personal service and helpfulness. There lies before us a great, a noble work, a work which should inspire us with the noblest enthusiasm, a work which calls us to war against the evils of our towns; to fight against all in them which degrades life; to contend for the realisation of more equitable social conditions and greater opportunities of living nobler lives—more truly brotherly relationships.

Surely we Churchmen, by our faith in Christ, by our belief that our Master's great work is the redemption of the world and of man, and that He founded the Church to labour in the fulfilment of His purpose of redemption, are above all men called in this time of social change to take our part in the effort to obtain more righteous, more equitable social conditions. Surely

"We are they whose steadfast watchword is what Christ did teach,
Each man for his brother first, and heaven then, for each,
We are they who will not falter—many swords or few—
Till we make this earth an altar of a worship new,
We are they who will not take from palace, priest, or code,
A meaner law than 'brotherhood,' a lower Lord than God."

LECTURE II.

THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE DUTY OF THE CHURCH.

MATT. XX. 6, 7.

Why stand ye here all the day idle? They say unto him, Because no man hath hired us.

THE most tragic figure in the busy city amid the whirring of the wheels of the machinery, the clang of hammers and the bustling to and fro of the creators and distributors of wealth, is the man who stands idly at the corner of the street without a place in all the throng and bustle of industry, and who has no other answer to the question, "Why stand ye here all the day idle?" than the reply, "Because no man hath hired us." There he stands, shut out from factory and shop, without part or lot in all that gives aim and interest to life,—for him there is no place in the hive of industry, no share in the wealth which it creates. All around wealth abounds, he is starving

and shivering amid heaps of gold, in sight of windows heaped high with bread and clothes. He dreads the return to the room which is his home, for the fire-grate is empty, the cupboard bare, the children's faces pinched and wan, his wife pale and spiritless. Day by day he starts on the weary tramp in search of work, and day by day returns footsore and sad, the hope of being admitted into a place in the busy throng of workers becoming less; for in that weary search for work, in those weeks of semi-starvation, he is losing the strength wherein his hope of work lies, he is losing vigour, and what is more than these, he is losing character and the very habit of work. There is much truth in the saying that a man off work for a year rarely works again—rarely settles down to steady regular toil—because the power of application is lost, and the listless ways, and often dissolute habits, which so long standing idle has engendered, cannot be thrown off when work is found at last.

One member of the body cannot suffer without other members suffering with it. The man who stands idle because no one hath hired him, involves others in his misfortune. His fierce competition lowers the wages of the employed, or of those who are somewhat less unemployed than he; he may be truly said often to snatch the bread out of their mouths, because the chance jobs which he does, those who are not so well employed as he is could do. As Mr C. Booth puts it,

"All that the casually employed earn, and all they spend, might be earned and could very easily be spent by the classes above them, these classes would be immensely better off, while no class nor any industry would suffer in the least. To the rich the very poor are a sentimental interest, to the poor they are a crushing load."

Number of Unemployed.

Consider for a moment the extent of the unemployed, the magnitude of the problem, the numbers of those whom no man hath hired.

On January 1st, 1895, there were in the Workhouses of England and Wales, exclusive of insane and children,

Able-bodied Males . .	20,922	
„ „ Females .	17,997	
		38,919
Not Able-bodied Males .	61,562	
„ „ „ Females	39,316	
		100,878
		139,797
As Out-door Paupers		
Able-bodied Males . .	18,097	
„ „ Females .	59,462	
		77,559
Not Able-bodied Males .	76,078	
„ „ „ Females	190,695	
		266,773
Total supported by Poor Law		484,129

The adult in-door paupers, those who are not able-bodied, may be said to be in their second childhood and unable to work, nevertheless the greater part of

them should be reckoned among the unemployed, for in a well-ordered family of the children of God the aged would be in their own homes, among their own relatives, and though unable to entirely support themselves, they would be able to contribute to their own maintenance by doing such light work as their strength permitted, busy in many little acts of usefulness and service of which family life affords so many opportunities.

There were also 9205 vagrants—some of these working men out of employment, but the great majority a part, but only a part, of the great army of vagrants who rarely ever work at settled labour and yet live, and therefore are supported by the industrious on whom they prey or sponge.

In Mr C. Booth's careful and laborious analysis of the Labour and Life of the People of our greatest city, he estimates the semi-criminal population, whose work consists for the most part of preying on the industry of the rest, as numbering 37,610, and the number of the regularly unemployed, if one may use the expression, those who rarely ever know to-day where to-morrow's work or to-morrow's food will be obtained, who are constantly standing idle and never get more than a chance job, or the most miserably paid work, and never that for any length of time, these who are the true unemployed he estimates as 316,834. In a position just above these are 938,293, nearly one-fourth of the total population of the richest city in

the world, whose income does not exceed twenty-one shillings a week, and whose existence is one unending struggle, often aggravated by suffering from the evils of irregular employment, which compels them during an appreciable portion of their lives to stand idle because no man hath hired them. At any given date in winter one-fifth of these, or 200,000, may be reckoned among the unemployed[1]. Thus we arrive at the appalling figure of half-a-million in London alone who must be reckoned as being without a definite place in the industry of London. As is London, so are all our large centres of population. The poverty of London impresses the imagination more, because owing to the magnitude of London the amount of poverty massed together is so much greater, but in every town the percentage of those who stand idle is not far different. Even if we allow that a larger percentage of the unemployed drift to the greatest centre of all, and take eight per cent. as representing those who have no recognised place in the industry of the country, we arrive at the lamentable figure of 2,240,000[2] men, women and children who have

[1] One-third and not one-fifth would perhaps be more accurate, because in his analysis of the East End, where Mr Booth separates his classes C and D which together represent the poor, he places 75,000 in Class C whose earnings are intermittent and who, as a class, are more than any other the victims of competition, on whom falls with special severity the weight of recurrent depressions of trade, and in Class D 129,000 whose earnings though small are regular. Vol. I. p. 35.

[2] *I.e.* taking the population of England and Wales as 28,000,000.

no secure position, no surety of procuring to-morrow's food, who are brutalised and demoralised by standing idle amid the industry of our country.

But there are others to be added to this total. According to the returns of the Board of Trade throughout the Skilled Trades during the last eight years 6·6 per cent. have on the average been unemployed. This represents about 79,200, which taking five as the average family gives a total of some 297,000 persons affected by want of employment[1]. These are protected it is true from the worst evils by out-of-work benefit from the Unions, but nevertheless they are not living a full life, and not producing anything, are so much waste power.

We may summarise the total thus. Adult Workers in England and Wales who are unable to maintain themselves or only do so inadequately by Casual Employment,

Adult Paupers in Workhouses . . .	139,797
Permanent Vagrants	10,000
Adult males without prospect of regular employment[2]	560,000
Average number of Trade Unionists Unemployed	79,200
Total	788,997

[1] Taking the Trades Unionists as numbering 1,200,000 we get 79,200. Deduct one-fourth for Scotland and Ireland and we get 59,400, which at five in family represents 297,000 persons.

[2] As single men are included in the 2,240,000 who belong to the

No figures are available showing the number of skilled workers who are not members of Trades Unions and whose percentage of Unemployed is therefore not included in the above total, but the figures as they stand represent, including women and children, a population of close upon three millions, who may be regarded as surplus population and without adequate means of self-support.

In times of trade depression or severe weather which prevents out-door life and occupation these numbers are largely increased[1].

class of those who are casual labourers division by 4 will give a fair approximation to the number of adult male workers, but as the women of this class work when they can the number of persons willing to work is really much greater than the total given above, which is almost entirely male surplus labour.

[1] Such vast numbers paralyse effort. Men either argue, What I can do must be of so little avail it is useless to make any effort; or they attempt to rescue large numbers and parade the hundreds and thousands they, or the Society with which they are connected, have helped. The very quantity of the work they try to do ruins its quality, and the number really permanently raised is small, may be zero. Their want of true success tends to give the pessimist, or the selfish, a plausible excuse for their pessimism or their selfishness. Yet the number of families in fairly comfortable circumstances is much greater than the number of those idle in the market-place, therefore if each family made it their business to rescue another family from their poverty, the problem would be more than solved, so far as it could be solved by charitable help.

Effects of Want of Employment.

Consider for a moment what are the consequences of the absence of regular employment to this multitude of our brothers. Irregularity is destructive of steady habits—those who are uncertain of to-morrow are careless of to-day—there can be no saving, no getting beforehand in the world. Gambling destroys character and undermines steady industry. Dependence on chance employment reduces the whole of life to a lottery, makes every day depend on chance, and is thus destructive of the regular habits which are the most essential quality of true citizenship. As Aristotle has said, "It is needful first to have a maintenance and then to practise virtue," or as a Chinese saying phrases it, "They who want the necessaries of life want also a virtuous and equal mind."

When the satisfaction of the mere animal needs of life becomes the absorbing object, the animal side of life predominates, and bodily gratification—drink, excessive eating, excitement of the passions—becomes the main idea of pleasure[1].

As men the struggling poor have in them capacities

[1] Those experienced in life among the very poor know how large an element in their idea of pleasure is feasting. Where the craving for enough to eat is ever present it is natural that the allaying of that craving to the full should be regarded as an important element in joy.

for appreciating beauty of sight and sound, capacities of mind whereby they might find pleasure in literature and science, capacities of spirit whereby they might reverence God, but these are undeveloped, crushed out by the constant anxiety concerning daily food.

Those who stand a large portion of their time idle in the market-place have no home comforts. Their poverty drives them to the cheapest sleeping-place they can find. The single man goes to the common lodging-house, the married to a single room of a tenement house barely furnished. Their furniture consists of one bed, a table, a few chairs, and these are always in peril of being seized for rent, or pawned for food, if they be less fortunate than usual in obtaining work. One of the most pathetic parts of the lives of the irregularly employed is their sisyphean labours to get a home together. Again and again when they have gathered together a few things, and made their room somewhat of a home, the 'bits of things' have to go for food or rent, and the task of getting them again has to be commenced afresh[1]. What wonder is it if many weary of the toil, and content themselves with little more than the bare walls? "The little dark rooms may bear traces of the man's struggle or woman's heroism, but the homes of

[1] "The people (I would prefer These people) live in squalid dens where there can be no health and no hope but dogged discontent with their lot and futile discontent at the wealth they see possessed by others."—THOROLD ROGERS.

the class which form the mass of the unemployed are sad like the fields of lost battles where heroism fought in vain."

We spend £10,000,000[1] a year on a National system of education, but more valuable than any education which Board or Voluntary Schools can give is education in the Home. What training can be given in modesty where a whole family, and perhaps some lodgers also, are herded in one room? What education in habits of order and cleanliness where a whole street, or series of streets, is inhabited by those whose homes are no better? Thus the poverty of the unemployed degrades his children. It enervates them also. They do not obtain sufficient air, or light or food[2], and so they grow up, feeble and puny, unable to do a full day's work, and their feeble constitutions make them subject to

[1] Parliamentary Grants for England and Wales, £6,586,266; School Board Rates, £3,621,368.

[2] Mrs Barnett gives some striking illustrations of this in her Article on The Poverty of the Poor, in *Essays on Practical Socialism.* Taking a family of eight children, she shows that taking the cheapest, dull, keep-me-alive sort of food, it would cost with the best management more than 2*s.* 4*d.* a day to provide the amount of carbonaceous and nitrogenous food required for adequate sustenance, thus leaving out of a wage of 20*s.* a week 3*s.* 8*d.* to pay rent, coals, clothes and everything beyond food. The expenditure of a widow earning 9*s.* a week is also given, and from it she draws the conclusion that while wages are at the present rate the large mass of our people cannot get food enough to maintain them in robust health—and bodily health is here alone considered. She is speaking of the regularly employed labouring class, and if this be the case with them how much the case in a much greater degree with the casually unemployed?

more than the average amount of sickness[1]. How much that is opposed to the operation of the Kingdom of God is contained in the degradation of the unemployed and how essentially a religious question does the remedy become! I shall have to revert to this subject when I refer more in detail to the housing of the poor. I mention it now because I wish to show that the social disorganisation, which results in such a large number of our population being unemployed, has far deeper and more wide-reaching consequences than the hardships of the men who are at present among the casually employed. The economic or social conditions which have created this class of casual labourers is causing a generation to grow up morally degraded and physically enfeebled, and is thus perpetuating the evil in a constantly intensified form[2].

It is a result, says Charles Booth, of the conditions of life in great towns, and especially in London, the greatest town of all, that muscular strength and energy get gradually used up—the second generation of Londoners is of lower physique and has less power of persistent work than the first, and the third generation (where it exists) is lower than the second.

[1] "Many instances have inclined me to connect the rate of infant mortality with the irregularity of employment of the father." Booth, 475.

[2] "There is a great, perhaps a growing residuum of persons who wh physically, mentally, or morally incapable of doing a good day's their with which to earn a good day's wage."—Marshall, *Principles* others. *omics.*

Is there not here a grand and noble object for Church work, one of the noblest opportunities of service, work for the rescue of the brothers and sisters who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death? A grand field for service in many forms and many ways, for the problem of the unemployed is the product of many causes, and will require for its solution many efforts in many different directions.

The Causes which produce the Unemployed.

What are the causes of this waste of labour? how comes it that our industrial organisation is so defective, and that the multitude of those who are idle, because no one hath hired them, is so great?

In part it is due to trade fluctuations, a portion of the price we pay for having the whole world as our market. The failure of banks in Australia, bad weather in America, war in the far East, and some say even spots on the sun which influence the climate of the Earth, will increase or decrease the activity of British industry.

Fluctuations of Trade.

To some extent these fluctuations are caused by the ill organised competition. In times of rising prices every one who can obtain command of Capital or Credit rushes to purchase in the hope of selling at a higher price, and as each acts independently and without full knowledge of what others are doing, errors

in judgment occur, and at length it is perceived that far more ships are ordered than can be profitably employed, or more corn purchased than can be sold at remunerative prices, and a sharp reaction sets in which paralyses industry and produces those alternating periods of expansion and contraction of industry which we term good and bad times. The publication of fuller trade statistics by public authority would probably help to somewhat steady trade by lessening the liability to error, but it would not get rid altogether of fluctuations which are occasioned by the strangely alternating fits of hopefulness and despondency to which masses of men appear to be subject[1].

[1] The extension of the cooperative movement in so far as the Co-operative Societies produce for the known market of the well-ascertained wants of their own members would, to the extent of the field it covered, tend to steady trade and lessen the area of speculative production. Some may regard Mr G. Thompson's words in his Inaugural Address at the Cooperative Congress at Huddersfield as somewhat too strong, but they are substantially correct. "With respect to the important matter of what Carlyle calls Permanence, I think we have shown an example to the outside world. Such things as depressions are unknown in our cooperation. Our record is one of continuous progress. We have no dislocations of industry. We possess the power of regulating supply in accordance with demand."

An interesting experiment is being made in the Midlands with a view to checking ruinous competition and steadying trade by forming combinations of employers and employed, for the purpose of taking joint action concerning all that concerns the welfare of the trade in which they are engaged, and maintaining a recognised cost price, and preventing underselling by speculative adventurers. For some account of these see *The New Trades' Combination Movement, its*

There are also fluctuations caused by fashion, fluctuations caused by our climate, which prevent employment in certain trades being continuous throughout the year and compel those who engage in them to stand idle for some weeks or months every year. There are those paralyses of industry occasioned by those trade disputes which sometimes assume almost the dimensions of Civil War, in which, as in war, the non-combatants suffer almost as much as the combatants. But when all allowance is made for these, there remains the serious fact that there is a permanent surplus of labour, that even in the very briskest periods of trade there are many standing idle because no man hath hired them, a vast multitude who have no regular permanent place in the industry of the country.

Divorce between the Labourer and Employment.

When we go behind the temporary fluctuations, and seek for the deeper, more permanent causes of this large mass of surplus labour, I would assign a chief place to the divorce of the workers from the instruments of production, which prevents the available means of employment influencing and controlling the numbers who seek employment. Where the workers own the instruments of production, as in the agricultural districts of France, the fact that an increase of numbers

Principles and Methods, by E. J. Smith. Published by Cornish Brothers, Birmingham, price 6*d*.

without a corresponding increase in the means of maintenance must result in the impoverishment of the family is evident to all, and is brought home to each.

In agricultural England before 1760 the growth of population was slow, because, though the workers did not own the means of maintenance, the difficulty of obtaining employment for an increase of population was an obvious fact. The number for whom there was employment in each parish was fairly self-evident. If the population increased beyond this it was clear some would be superfluous, and the owners of the land would have to provide for their maintenance through the rates. This caused the landowners to place difficulties in the way of increase of the population on their estates, and the growth of the workers was kept within the limits of the growth of the means of employment, not by their own self-restraint or high standard of living, but by the landowners[1]. The rise of the factory system due to mechanical inventions provided means of employment, there was no longer any need to restrict the increase of the population of the village, those not required at home could swarm off and find employment in the rapidly growing factory districts. They did swarm off, and have continued doing so for more than a century, and in the towns to which they

[1] The check on the growth of numbers for the causes mentioned is referred to by Professor Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, Bk. IV., ch. 4.

have swarmed there is no visible connection between the growth of the means of employment and the growth of any particular family or set of families. The feeling of each is that the increase of their family does not matter, their children are as likely as any other to get a place in the general scramble for work[1].

[1] In what we may term the professional classes, incomes, as a rule, increase as men grow older. The practice of the doctor or the lawyer grows, the clergyman obtains preferment, the shopkeeper and the merchant extend their connection, clerks in offices rise to higher and better-paid posts. It is not always so, but roughly speaking, we may say that those outside the working classes have a reasonable expectation of being better off at thirty than at twenty; better off at forty than at thirty. Not so the manual worker. He is better off in his youth than he is likely to be at any other period of his life. If a labourer, he earns full wages at eighteen years of age, or thereabouts; if an artisan, at twenty-one. Unless he happens to become a foreman, or pass out of the working-class, his wages do not advance, his economic position does not improve—it grows worse, for as he gets older the average of sickness increases, his employment is less regular, because when trade is slack the older men are dismissed, and the younger and more vigorous kept on. At the outset he has only himself to keep, whereas when he grows older he generally has a wife and family to maintain on the same wages as he had at first for himself alone. The consequence is that if a working-man marries at all it is actually prudent that he should do so as early as possible. He will never be so well off, and if he rears a family and gets them out into the world before sickness and advancing years, with their consequent irregular employment, decrease his average earnings, he may hope to obtain some assistance in the years of adversity and in the days of his old age from the children he has reared. This condition of things, whereby it becomes, among our largest and poorest class, a matter of prudence, from the point of view of the individuals composing that class, to marry as early as possible, is a consequence of our modern industrial system, which began to prevail from about the year 1763. It

Influence of the Poor Law.

Another potent cause is that evil principle of the Poor Law which makes destitution the *sine qua non* of assistance. Doubtless the framers of the law meant well, they wanted to establish a test of genuine poverty, and make a provision which would prevent the genuinely poor perishing from starvation. Hell is paved with good intentions. Good intentions cannot make injustice justice, or prevent injustice working evil. The law says no help shall be given if you have anything at all. If however you have nothing, if you have not tried to help yourself, if you have wasted your substance in riotous living and have nothing, not even a shred of character, then you shall have help, and just the same help as the man who has struggled to provide for himself and failed[1]. The result is that the

has not been the sole cause, but it has been an important factor in the increase of our population by leaps and bounds during the last century.—From a lecture on *National Insurance* by the Author.

[1] The following quotation from *Social Wreckage* by Francis Peek illustrates the evil influence of the Poor Law. "A benevolent gentleman called a meeting of working people to enlist their cooperation in establishing a savings bank. He appeared to carry the meeting with him until a labourer asked to be informed whether, in case he gave up his beer, and by constant industry and thrift saved sufficient to provide himself and his wife with the necessaries of life when no longer able to work, he would be in any better position than another man, who, having spent on himself everything he had earned, claimed these necessaries from the parish. In the face of the provisions of the Poor Law no advantage on the side of industry and saving could be shown,

poorest section of the community, whose power of logic is as keen as that of any other section, argue, There is little use in my struggling to save for the future or get beforehand with the world. I cannot do as much for myself as will be done for those who have made no effort, therefore let us eat and drink, for to-morrow there is the Poor Law. Thus the Poor Law is a fruitful cause of reckless marriage and improvident habits, lowers the whole standard of life of the poorer section of the community, reduces wages and occasions much of the Poverty of the Poor[1]. The main advantage of a system of National Pensions will

and so the philanthropist's scheme fell to the ground. This incident is suggestive of the evil influence the Poor Law has exerted, and to a great extent still exerts, upon many of the working classes. They assert their right to spend at once all they earn without concern for the future, and feel when destitute neither shame in claiming, nor gratitude in receiving, the sustenance to which the law declares them entitled.

[1] In the majority of the Unions it is customary to allow every widow 1*s.* 6*d.* for each child under 13 years of age. Every wage-earner knows that if he dies his children are secured that amount of provision. He may be said, by his own contribution to the rates for the maintenance of other people's children, to have insured for the maintenance of his own. That may be a desirable method of insurance, and much may be urged in favour of this method of making provision for the care of orphans. The evil principle is the condition imposed that orphans shall not receive this insurance if any other provision has been made for their maintenance. If a man leaves his wife £50, or a house the rent of which is 5*s.* a week, the Guardians will not make an allowance for his children till the £50 is spent, or in making the allowance they will take into consideration the 5*s.* a week and reduce the amount given.

be the removal of the aged, who are, in the phrase of John Locke, 'grown people decayed from their full strength,' from the principle of the Poor Law, by either making the pension given conditional on their having helped themselves through their own contributions to Friendly Societies, or, as I hope, giving to all, irrespective of condition, a maintenance which will, though scanty, serve to support existence. Secure of this as a right, there will be inducement to supplement it by their own efforts. Then every effort made will be so much additional gain.

Immobility of Labour.

The fact that capital is more mobile than labour and can change its form or situation more readily than labour can accommodate itself to the change, is another and frequent cause whereby large numbers of men lose their employment. New machinery may render some form of skill obsolete or useless, or trade may leave a district, as shipbuilding left the Thames, but the men remain in the place where they have been employed, increase the competition for odd jobs, and gradually sink down into the class of the permanently unemployed.

Within a mile from where I write this, some ironstone mines ceased to be remunerative. As long as there was occasional work, though only an average of two days a week, the men remained. Fortunately the mines were closed, and the process of slow starvation stopped, and

as there were no other opportunities of obtaining occasional employment the men removed. Had they been residents in a town many would have remained and swollen the army of casually employed. An ill organised, badly managed or decaying industry has a most detrimental effect on those who are employed; for a long period before bankruptcy or closing, work is very irregular, the weekly average earned is reduced one-half or more, and during this period the standard of living of the workpeople is reduced, and they permanently sink down to a lower social grade. I have been an eyewitness of such deterioration. What Mr C. Booth says is quite true, "While a trade leaves the people stay and form the unemployed, or partially employed, class who provide the mass of cheap labour, and the facilities for irregular work in which small masters and small middlemen find their opportunity."

Deterioration of Unemployed.

The mass of the unemployed are those who have deteriorated. "The unemployed as a class," as Mr C. Booth says, "are a selection of the unfit, and on the whole the most in want are the most unfit." They earn little, but they can do little, and what they do is of little value. Low as their wages are, their work is dear at the price. Speaking of the applicants for relief for the unemployed in Whitechapel, Canon Barnett says, "There were few who seemed healthy

or were strongly grown." "The majority had not the stamina to make even a good scavenger." Those of us who have been connected with similar efforts at Relief have had similar experience. Here lies the difficulty of the problem. Into this class of casual labourers drifts the man whose skill has been superseded by some change of industry and who cannot adapt himself to new economic requirements; the weak who cannot do a full day's work; the feeble, whose life in the vitiated air of a crowded room in a poor street has lowered his vitality so that the power of continuous work is sapped. These are for the most part city born, evil products of ill constructed towns and of neglect of provision for the elementary necessities of human well-being.

There are others, the victims of their own vices constitutional or acquired, the lazy, the drunkard, the indolent, who cannot keep a place when they get it, and those who cannot stand the strain of regular industry, and throw up work for no other reason than the irksomeness of regularity of life[1], and with the speeding up of modern industry and its increasing demand for high pressure we get an increasing number of grown people decayed from their full strength: all who from physical, mental, or moral infirmity have

[1] None but those acquainted with persons of this class, especially the young, can realise the way in which, when the irksomeness of regular labour galls, they will throw up the most advantageous positions and prospects and endure untold hardship and suffering just because in their own phrase 'they could not settle.'

sunk down to the very bottom, into the slough of despond, where they have lost all hope and all aspiration; and their children are growing up habituated to the lowest standard of life, and will perpetuate the misery and degradation in which they exist.

What are the Remedies?

Such are the main causes why men stand idle in the market-place, such are the consequences of industrial disorganisation and moral defects. What are the remedies? There are those whose cry is for revolution, who would have the community take over the means of production, nationalise land and capital, and through elective bodies organise the whole of our industrial system. Notwithstanding the passing of the Norwich resolution[1] such revolution is a long way off, and I do not now propose to consider this particular remedy. The end at which it aims is neither unjust nor unchristian, but the means by which it is proposed to obtain that end seem to me outside the range of present practical politics. One lesson of the past which we ought to have learnt is that violent changes work no lasting good, and one truth of which the theory of evolution ought to have convinced our age is that

[1] "That in the opinion of this Congress it is essential to the maintenance of British industries to nationalise the land and the whole of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, and that the Parliamentary Committee be instructed to promote and support legislation with the above object." Carried by 219 to 61.

development is a slow process, and that the new forms of social as well as other life must be gradual adaptations of existing forms.

Trade Unions.

Trade Unions by mutual insurance, by the practice of the Christian principle of sharing one another's burdens, endeavour to protect their members from the worst consequences of trade fluctuations, by allowances to members out of work, by sharing the work through short time when trade is slack (an arrangement difficult to carry into effect where workmen are not organised), and by helping to send their members to places where workmen are required. Rarely is a mechanic who is a member of a Union found among the applicants for relief in those times of widespread misery when Relief Funds are formed. Skilled mechanics who sink into that condition are usually those who have failed to take advantage of Union facilities. Unwilling to pay the Union contribution they are less to be pitied if they suffer in consequence.

Every group of workers organised is a group saved from being driven by irregularity of employment into the extreme of poverty, driven down to swell the class of the hopeless and permanent casuals, when deterioration of body, soul and spirit is inevitable[1].

[1] There is another side to the shield. Every trade organised makes the pressure of the competition among those excluded from it more severe; each trade raises its own standard by lessening the amount of

The main difficulty of such organisation among the unskilled labourers and women workers is that their pay is so miserably small that there is not margin sufficient to enable them to make provision for out-of-work benefit. It is small partly in consequence of the severity of competition among those who accept a low standard of living which drives wages down, and drives women's wages lower than men's; partly in consequence of the inefficiency of labour. Organisation will do something to raise the former, and a wiser education which gives greater prominence to industrial training will do something for the latter. As far as Unionism goes it does much to solve the problem of the unemployed, but it does not touch the poorly paid unskilled labourer, the casual who so frequently stands idle because no man hath hired him.

Charity.

There are those who would solve the difficulty by Charity. The unemployed is very poor. Let the rich

competition and shutting out competitors. If the rate of increase of any organised group is greater than the numbers admitted into the group, the surplus population of that trade is driven into the ranks of the unskilled workers, intensifies competition there, and depresses those already the most depressed. Also the Union policy of insisting on the same wage for all, for old and young, for men of all degrees of capacity, renders it politic on the part of employers to dismiss numbers of the less capable when prices tend to droop and trade to decline. A group of men can only keep up a standard wage at the cost of maintaining a portion of the group in times of depression. The higher the standard wage maintained, the larger the number who have to be so supported.

then give him of their wealth. Give him a shilling and send him away. That is the easiest way of disposing of him. The shilling is however soon spent and the man is in no better position than before. His poverty will probably be increased rather than diminished, for the knowledge that shillings may be thus obtained is very apt to prove a snare, weakening in him and others their efforts to gain a foothold among those who labour steadily. The experience of all who have worked among the poor is that such charity creates more misery than it relieves. From time to time in periods of trade depression, or severe weather, relief funds are started, and the Poor Law Guardians open the stone yards, where the usual remuneration is one shilling a day, and for family men threepence for each child. I had experience of such relief in 1883, 1884 and 1892. Nothing was more striking than the reappearance of the same faces on each occasion, showing how many of the same persons were always among the unemployed. The experience of others in other places is the same, and tends to show that such relief funds do not really help to tide men over a difficulty and restore them to the position of self-supporting workers in the industrial community[1].

[1] Such funds are always inadequate. I quote one sample which is illustrative of many. "The Mansion House Fund failed to relieve distress. In S. George's, in the East, there were nearly 4,000 applicants, representing 20,000 persons. All these were in distress, cold and hungry. Of these there were 2,400, representing 12,000 persons,

The casual labourer needs more, much more, than gifts of money; he needs a healthier home, more adequate food, so that he may be physically better fitted for labour; he needs training; he needs a higher ideal of life; he needs sympathy, encouragement and hope; he needs a share in those things which make life enjoyable to the rich.

Provision of Work.

He is idle because no man hath hired him. Work, not charity, is now the popular remedy. This is a method of help every clergyman is almost daily asked to give. It is a sad reflection that the result of one's labours in obtaining work for one unemployed merely changes the individual who is standing idle, and does not lessen the number of unemployed. Your influence which you are asked to exercise with some employer secures the appointment of your protegé, and perhaps to please you another is dismissed, or at most, if one was wanted, you have only secured the preference of one over another. Unless you can succeed in finding for one of the idle work which would not otherwise be performed, and by the doing of which additional value is created, the mass of the unemployed is in no way

whom the committee considered to be working people unemployed and within the scope of the fund. For their relief £2,000 was apportioned; and if it had been equally divided each person would have had 3*s.* 4*d.* on which to support life during three months." Barnett, *Practical Socialism*, p. 65.

diminished. Any one who has tried to find such work realises the difficulty, the well-nigh insuperable difficulty of finding it[1].

The Local Government Board in November, 1892, issued a circular to Local Authorities recommending them to undertake local works of public utility during the winter. It is certainly better that those standing idle should be employed in labour which creates some utility rather than in breaking stones, which is only one degree removed from the absolutely futile labour of the treadmill, but the value created rarely approximates to the expenditure incurred, for experience shows that the man who is employed at even a shilling a day is generally a very costly labourer. His inefficiency is the main cause of his poverty. Want of work is not the real root of the disease, and the provision of it is not the cure[2]. When the provision of work comes to an end the physically or morally inefficient worker is physically and morally unfit still, he has not been lifted out of the slough of despond and placed on the firm ground of self-maintenance at

[1] "Moreover, finding work is apt to be a sisyphean task, the man relies on you more than on himself, and, the job ended, back he comes and the work of finding work for him begins again; the rolling-stone only rolls the more for your interference." Booth.

[2] The experience in Glasgow was, "the men employed were those whose distress though it might be sad enough was the result of habits which would produce poverty and suffering in any case." And this is the general experience.

an adequate wage. At the very best, provision of work is but a costly palliative which serves to tide over a period of exceptional trade depression.

Food—Training—Discipline.

The permanent raising up of those that are fallen requires adequate food for those whose physique has been lowered by long-continued semi-starvation; training for those who have not adequate skill to earn adequate maintenance; discipline for those who are deficient in self-control, and hope which is a great inspirer of effort, hope that by submitting to training and discipline, he may gain the position of an independent self-supporting worker.

Where training fails to raise to the degree of efficiency required for self-maintenance, if the cause be feebleness of mind or body, the feeble should be cared for, as in a family we care for the sick and infirm; if the cause be idleness or drunkenness, or some other form of immorality, then the discipline should be stern and severe, and extend to the deprivation of liberty till such time as reform is effected.

This would not be a violation of the principle of brotherhood, for the recognition of brotherhood carries with it a claim that he who is so recognised should live as a brother, and if he fails to do so he must in the interest of the rest of the family be placed under conditions which will prevent his doing harm to the

others. True love is not a mawkish sentiment and does not hesitate to exercise discipline where it is necessary[1].

This conviction which experience has borne in upon me is that at which Mr C. Booth has arrived; "some day," he thinks, "the individualist community on which we build our faith will find itself obliged for its own sake to take charge of the lives of those who, from whatever cause, are incapable of existence up to the required standard. Beyond the malefic influence which the imperative needs and ill-regulated lives of the class we are considering exercise over the fortunes of those who might otherwise do well enough, and beyond the

[1] The following extract from the evidence of the Rev. B. Waugh, Director of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, given before the Royal Commission, illustrates the need of discipline. "The experience of my Society is against meeting the case of Underfed Children by charity. Since 1889 the Society has had a Statute, under the powers of which it has been able to test the cause of the neglect of children in various centres of population throughout the land, and it has proved, by punishments and by warnings of punishments, that it is in the power of nine-tenths of the parents of children who are underfed to feed them. Eighty per cent. of the cases we have dealt with arise from culpable neglect of parental responsibility. One great cause of child nakedness and hunger is idleness. Men, who from any cause are thrown out of work for a long time, acquire a habit of idleness. In consequence of this idleness, after the slackness of work passes, wives are expected to continue the earning of the pittance which has kept the house together. Idleness when it becomes a habit, from whatever cause, is a desperatism which nothing but the rigour of the law can free. From the moment a man knows that he must work, either at hard labour in a jail or at honest labour out of jail, he does not long hesitate in making his choice."

fact that they do not support themselves but absorb the charities of both rich and poor, they are also a constant burthen to the State. What they contribute, whether in rates or taxes, is little compared to the expense they cause. Their presence in our cities creates a costly and often unavailing struggle to raise the standard of life and health[1]."

The unemployed casual needs training, discipline, hope. The Church Army and General Booth are trying to supply these in their Labour Homes and Farms. There they give the discipline of work and order; the training of Christian instruction and influence, and the hope of restoration to the ranks of efficient workers. The uselessness of sending them back to compete for odd jobs, or return to the ranks of the unskilled where they would merely displace others, have led both these agencies to aim at the creation of new value by employing them to add to the stock of wealth by cultivation of land which would otherwise be uncultivated, or not so fully cultivated. These efforts are useful as experiments, but they are not on

[1] The Bishop of Durham expresses a similar opinion, "As far as I can judge, the class of casual labourers require some extended legislative protection, and I will venture to add some legislative coercion. There are classes which are still children, and in their case the Government must not shrink from discipline. It cannot rightly leave uncorrected and unrestrained masses of men whose low type spreads corruption. It treats attempted suicide as a crime: it ought to treat 'the slow suicide of idleness' as a crime no less." Westcott, *The Incarnation and Revelation of Human Duties*, p. 40.

a scale which can grapple with the multitude, they can touch but a few.

They seem however to indicate a possible line of action. We import millions' worth of eggs, vegetables and various kinds of agricultural produce which can be grown in England, and at the same time English land is going out of cultivation. Here then is a field in which labour may be applied which will create fresh value, not probably all which the maintenance of the unemployed will cost, but a reasonable portion. It is not too much to hope that some day every town will deal with its own unemployed and, through the representatives of its citizens elected for that purpose, provide a way of training and discipline for those who, from whatever cause, are incapable of performing work which will supply them with adequate maintenance[1].

Much has been said and written about a ladder from the gutter to the University, we need still more a ladder out of the gutter to adequate and independent maintenance. Such a ladder would simplify many of our town difficulties concerning helping our poorer brethren. If we knew there was a means whereby the unfortunate could by his own efforts win his way to industrial maintenance, much charity now misapplied could be diverted to more profitable channels. The honest

[1] There is an excellent discussion of such Training for the Unemployed in *Practicable Socialism* by Canon Barnett, p. 308.

industrious poor are so intermingled with the shiftless and incapable that it is now well-nigh impossible for public bodies, or societies which endeavour to provide relief, to separate them. Schemes of relief which are suited to the former only do harm to the latter, and the shiftless generally succeed in appropriating the gifts the benevolent intend for the industrious and unfortunate.

The experiments of the Salvation Army and the Church Army, the experiments of Labour Colonies abroad, as yet not very successful and tentative, show that the trend of opinion is that the remedy lies in the direction I have indicated, so also does the growing demand that the administrators of the Poor Law should distinguish between the deserving and the undeserving poor, which in practice means they should separate the "sturdy vagabonds," to use the Elizabethan term, from the helpless and unfortunate, and subject them to sterner discipline.

I have endeavoured to lay before you the facts concerning the number of those whom no man hath hired, have endeavoured to point out some of the evil consequences to the multitude of those who are not hired, and have briefly commented on remedies which have been suggested. I now pass to what may be regarded as the aspect of the question most appropriate for mention from this pulpit, the duty of the Church to the unemployed.

Assertion of the Claims of Brotherhood.

When the pagan emperor Decius demanded the treasures of the Church they brought to him a multitude of sick and poverty-stricken and miserable folk, the very dregs of the city, and presented them to him, saying, "Sire, these are the treasures of the Church, these are what we care for most, the objects on which we lavish our labours and pains." If we are true to Church principles the treasures of the Church to-day should be the multitude in our towns who are idle in the market-place, and whose lives are the most miserable in our cities. Christ's care for the least, His gift of Himself for the lowest, gives to the most miserable, even to the most undeserving of them, a claim on the sympathy and help of His Church. The strongest temptation which besets the Church—conformist or nonconformist—is the temptation to place ministration to the well-to-do first, and provide for their worship, their tastes. To begin and end with the salvation of a respectable congregation, either salvation of their souls on evangelical lines or by ritual and devotions, is not enough. Far be it from me to undervalue evangelical doctrine or devotions. But evangelicalism that deprecates worldliness and enjoys good dinners, or Churchmanship which is satisfied with the delights of ritual and the consolations of devotion, misses the true aim. As has

been well said[1], "The crowning delusion of modern Christianity is that salvation can be divorced from helpfulness; that men and women, who, in cities such as ours, calmly look on with folded hands while sin is rampant, and souls are wandering, and social foundations crumbling, and vice and pauperism, hand in hand, are defying all philanthropic effort, will what they call go to heaven when they die, though their lives on earth have been like the ship in Coleridge's 'Ancient Mariner,'

> Day after day, day after day,
> With neither breath nor motion;
> As idle as a painted ship
> Upon a painted ocean.

The duty of the Church is to say to the rich, the comfortable, the respectable, "Your Master whom you worship was reproached with being the friend of publicans and sinners: that reproach you, if you reverence Christ, will share. These idlers in the market-place are your brethren for whose salvation your Master died."

The Church must stir Conscience.

It was the proclamation of the principle that the negro was a man and a brother, and the bringing home to the English nation of their responsibility, which put an end to negro slavery. It is by the constant assertion of the principle that the unemployed and the irregularly employed, whose poverty dwarfs and ruins

[1] Canon Wilberforce.

their lives, are men and brothers, that the Church must seek the emancipation of that slave of economic circumstances, the unemployed. It is the duty of the Church to stir the public conscience to the inhuman conditions of life which result from want of regular employment, and to drive home the fact that these, our brethren, are not able to live true human lives such as brothers should, and that we as a nation, as citizens, are responsible for the continuance of this state of things. It is for the Church to call the attention of Dives to Lazarus, to bring home the responsibility of Dives for the condition in which Lazarus is, and to make it clear that crumbs from the table of the rich will not heal the sores of Lazarus, are neither adequate nor satisfactory as a remedy for the ills from which he suffers. Till the public conscience is quickened to a sense of its responsibility, and not till then, is there chance of serious effort being made to remedy the evils[1].

[1] I know no better illustration of the true function of the Church in Social reform than is to be found in the Journal of John Woolman, which narrates how he, a poor tailor, had his conscience stirred as to the iniquity of Slavery in the United States and then laboured by an appeal to Christian principles to move the conscience of the members of the Society of Friends. Slowly conviction spread, first certain forms of slavery were condemned, then by degrees all slavery, and the practice of slavery ceased among the Friends. Having cast out the evil from among themselves the Friends laboured as a body to influence public opinion, and their testimony and their work sowed the seed which culminated in the Abolitionist victory. The Journal, which is the autobiography of a beautiful and simple character, is a wonderful illustration of the power of moral influence.

Principles asserted and driven home to conscience have a way in course of time of working themselves out into practice. We may not at once see clearly the way to change the existing social order, but it is our duty to assert and reassert that, when wealth in abundance exists, more per head of the population than at any former period, the principle of brotherhood is not realised if a large proportion of the people live under the conditions of casual labour, and that such a state of things cries aloud for amendment.

The Church must study the Problem.

It is the duty of the Church in its care for Christ's poor to study carefully the causes which produce the evil conditions under which these brethren of ours labour, and to watch sympathetically every remedy suggested or attempted. Professors of theology devote much time and thought to working out in detail the application of the first great commandment. Some of them might devote equal time and thought to working out in detail the application of the second great command, which relates to our duty to our neighbours, under the complex conditions of our social life.

The problem of the unemployed is complex, the product of many causes and influences, and therefore the remedies will be many: a juster Poor Law, better homes, more sanitary conditions, a thousand influences. All these it is the business of Churchmen to promote.

It is because we acquiesce that they remain. But while the problem of the unemployed is complex it divides into two main sections:—want of employment occasioned by the ebb of Trade, which is temporary, and which will, as surely as in the tide which washes our shores, be followed by the flood of returning confidence and brisker trade: want of employment which is permanent, due to the change of industrial forms, or to inefficiency, physical or moral; due in one word to the degradation of the worker.

As we see that the first of these is provided against by the organisation of the older Unions and is fairly effective in the field they cover, it is part of our duty to use our influence to encourage such organisation, for, as I said before, every group of workers organised is a group saved from the worst evils of loss of employment due to trade fluctuations. But the lowest paid cannot so organise; therefore one of the most pressing needs of our time is the working out some definite settled method of provision for those who are temporarily thrown out of work by causes over which they have no control, and whose idleness is not due to any personal defect—a provision which shall not undermine self-respect or damage character. At present no plan has been thought out or worked out. When the tide of industry ebbs, the cry of distress is raised. No preparation has been made, no plan thought out. An appeal for funds goes forth, a relief fund is started;

a method of assistance which has a thousand times proved a failure. Surely the Church, knowing the frequent occurrence of such a calamity, should not rest content to leave things alone, but should show its true care for those who are by trade depression compelled to stand idle by calling together all the experience it can gather in order to frame some better method of help. The Archbishop of Canterbury summoned together representatives from every diocese to take action for the preservation of the endowments of the Church in Wales. An equally deep interest in the true treasures of the Church, which are the poor and suffering, should lead to some definite corporate action concerning the relief of the temporarily unemployed.

Enforcement of Responsibility.

When we are clear as to the causes we can better bring home the responsibility. Every one must bear his share of responsibility for things being as they are. Modern industry is more and more falling into the hands of Companies. It is for the Church to awaken the consciences of the shareholders to their responsibility, to convince them that it is their duty to ascertain how the business in which their money is invested is carried on, whether efforts are made to prevent irregularity of employment, whether the hours of unskilled labourers such as Tramway men are excessive and the general conditions humane, and make it felt that

righteousness is of more importance than an increase in the rate of dividend.

A friend of mine, who was a shareholder in a certain Company, learnt that the conditions under which the women workers were employed were unsatisfactory, and conducive to immorality. He drew the attention of the Directors to this, pointing out that the hours and pay exposed their employees to great temptation to prostitution, for they could not support and clothe themselves on the pittance they received. He was informed with brutal frankness that the Company had no concern with that. Plenty could be obtained who would accept the conditions. My friend withdrew his investment. If every Churchman acted thus there would soon be a change in the tone of the reports presented at annual meetings, industrial conditions would be recognised as being as important as dividends, and it would be admitted that even to Companies the rule applies, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness," and then, and not till then, other things such as dividends shall be added.

It is for the Church to bring home the responsibility, not of investment only but of expenditure, and make each ask himself: When there are so many whose lives are poor and meagre, poor in pleasures both as regards kind and quality, poor in those things which give interest and variety to life, pictures and books and music and travel, and who for lack of these are dull,

or seek distraction in rough, coarse ways which alone are readily within their reach, how far am I justified in heaping up luxuries for my self-indulgence? Is not the best use I can make of such luxuries not to keep them for myself, but to use them to brighten other lives, to let others share[1]?

The Promotion of Brotherly Relations.

The East is separated from the West; it is the duty of the Church to bring them together, their separation is hurtful to both. The East has not personal knowledge of the West, and thinks ill of it, and the West thinks the dwellers in the East much worse than they are. Mutual knowledge removes distrust, and is the first step towards true helpfulness.

I alluded to the effect of Trade Disputes on employment. These conflicts are often personal rather than economical, due to personal misunderstandings, faults of individual temper or bearing: nothing smooths away such difficulties so much as personal intercourse. When the Church, which, as the Church of Christ, is equally the Church of master and man, brings together employer and employed in friendly discussion, it performs the true part of a peacemaker, promotes

[1] We must never forget that this life, which to us would not be worth living, and would be unbearably cheerless, is one to which legions of our fellow-creatures are doomed; and that they are so doomed partly on account of our own excessive indulgence.

brotherly relationships and so mitigates industrial evils. The Bishop of Durham, by often bringing together for friendly discussion representatives of employers and employed, assisted in no small degree in promoting that better understanding which has resulted in the formation of Conciliation Boards in the Mining Industries of both Durham and Northumberland.

It is not the function of the Clergy as such to settle disputes or act as arbitrators, they rarely possess the technical knowledge requisite for the task, and as clergy it is not our function 'to divide the inheritance.' But it is the function of all clergy and of all Churchmen to use their influence to promote brotherly relationships. Perhaps there is no way in which the Church can help more towards the solution of the problem of the unemployed than by bringing together employer and employed, the casual labourer, the skilled artisan, the organiser of industry, and the man of education who can be in sympathy with the points of view of each[1].

[1] Such a Conference was held on Oct. 26, 1895, at Auckland Castle under the presidency of Bishop Westcott, for consideration of the policy which should be pursued in times of exceptional distress, when the following resolutions were passed:

I. That where exceptional distress exists, or is said to exist, it is desirable that all efforts to relieve it should be made in concert with the Guardians; and that any body which may already have been formed, or may be formed, to relieve it, should co-operate with them.

II. That with a view to such co-operation it is desirable that a permanent representative Committee of men and women

One class in the community cannot save another, but one class may help another to save itself. By mutual conference, by wise suggestion, by carefully considered methods the casual labourer may be helped to raise himself, stimulated to work out his own salvation by the awakening in him of higher desire and hope, and in the effort he will develop that strength of character which now he so sadly lacks.

But for each one of us the vital question is, Lord, what wouldest thou have me to do? what part should I take in the discharging my duty as a member of thy Church towards those whose lives are degraded and made miserable by standing idle so long in the market-place? *I* don't know. The answer to that question is between your conscience and God.

should be formed in each Union on the lines of the Charity Organisation Society, which would be prepared to deal with the distress.

III. That this Committee determine, after communication with the Guardians, when it is desirable that an appeal for funds should be issued.

IV. That while every advantage should be taken of the knowledge of the Relieving Officers, the actual distribution of the funds should not be in their hands, but must be in the hands of paid agents of the Committee.

V. That in view of the evils of overlapping and multiplication of agencies, it is desirable that all administration of relief should be centred in such a Committee; and that on the one hand the co-operation of existing charities should be sought, and on the other the institution of rival funds should be discouraged.

What I do know is, that it is not so much money as personal service, personal brotherliness which is needed. It is much easier to obtain money for a boys' or girls' club than to get volunteers to give up some evening every week to make friends with the boys and girls, and by friendship quietly win them to higher ideals of spending their leisure, higher ideals of life.

When men recognise that our faith makes us act as their brethren, then they will more readily believe in and worship our Father, and recognise Him as their Father.

LECTURE III.

THE HOMES OF THE PEOPLE.

ISAIAH LXII. 6, 7.

I have set watchmen upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, which shall never hold their peace day nor night; ye that make mention of the Lord, keep not silence, and give him no rest, till he establish, and till he make Jerusalem a praise in the earth.

WHETHER the book of Isaiah is the composition of one writer or more is a question I am not competent to determine. Whether there was an Isaiah of the period of national decadence which preceded the great national defeat and fall, and another of the period of the captivity, I know not, but this I do know:—Never has faith been exhibited in stronger form; never have social evils been more bravely and decisively tracked to their ultimate source, and more clearly shown to be the result of neglect or defiance of the Divine principles of righteousness; never has man had more clear vision of the glories

of the golden age which will be when society is constituted according to the Divine order; never has reliance on the ultimate triumph of righteousness, when it will no longer be

> "Truth for ever on the scaffold
> And Wrong for ever on the throne,"

never has such faith found more confident expression than in this book of Isaiah.

As was natural with a Hebrew seer whose national patriotism and religious aspiration centred in Jerusalem and its temple, the figure under which he sees the glory that shall be is Jerusalem, the beloved city, restored and called Hephzibah and Beulah, the city in which the Lord delighteth and to which He is bound by the closest of ties, because there His will is done, His righteousness realised. The glory, the happiness, the blessedness of that city become the wonder, admiration and desire of all nations.

A portion of Isaiah's vision, descriptive of this holy city which shall some day be built on earth, was read this morning in every parish church in this land[1]. It is a vision which Christ endorsed and accepted as expressing the aim of His work on earth by reading the opening words and then saying, "This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears." Thus the vision of the Hebrew seer is no vain dream of human imagination,

[1] This lecture was delivered on Jan. 26, the Third Sunday after Epiphany.

but expresses the hope, the ambition, the aspiration, the work of the followers of Christ. It is a vision which calls the Church of Christ to the work of building up, on earth, cities constituted according to Divine laws wherein righteousness is realised in the facts and conditions of life, where love holds sway, and peace and happiness for all result. It is of this work I have to speak in these lectures. In the first I described its method, in the second I applied the method to the problem of the unemployed.

The Environment of Home.

To-day I ask you to bear with me while I strive to discharge the duty of a watchman on the walls of Jerusalem, and consider how the Church can apply the principles which I laid down in the first lecture to the homes of those who dwell in towns. It is one of the most vital of all problems. No environment has such influence as the environment of home. The home is the recognised nursery of the public virtues and the public affections; or, as Mazzini puts it, in characteristic phrase, "it is the place where between the mother's kiss and the father's caress the child's first lesson of citizenship is learnt." We may even go further and say that there the first lessons of heavenly citizenship are learnt, for the child's first conception of the Father in heaven and his relation to Him is a transference to the unseen God of the ideas and experi-

ences of his relationship to his earthly parents and of their care and love.

"The influence of our Faith," says Bishop Westcott, "should show that the acknowledgment of brotherhood in Christ leads us to enquire into the conditions in which the majority of those whom we call brethren actually live." "Domestic life," said Manning, "creates a people." The domestic life of our citizens must be of deep concern to every watcher on the walls of our cities, for on it, more almost than aught else, depends the well-being, the character and happiness of the citizens.

Overcrowding.

An enquiry was instituted in Glasgow into the housing of the people. Here are some figures from the report: 31,000 dwellings consisted of one room[1], 53,000 of two rooms, only 33,000 of more than two rooms; 100,000 persons, or about one-fifth of the total population, lived in single rooms.

Those are appalling figures. In England, however, the proportion in single rooms is not so large.

[1] "The result of the one room system is the one bed system. The single room system forges incest, illegitimacy, juvenile prostitution, drunkenness, dirt, idleness, disease, and a death-rate higher than that of Grosvenor Square. The rate of mortality in a certain quarter of St Pancras was stated by Dr Murphy to have reached, in 1882, the enormous rate of 70·1 per thousand. The average death-rate for England is 19·6 per thousand." Arnold White, *Problems of a Great City*.

According to the last census in the country as a whole, 3,058,044 persons, forming 11 per cent. of the population, are living in overcrowded tenements, 642,000 having only one room, 2,416,617 only two rooms. If overcrowding be defined as more than two persons to a room, then in London nearly 20 per cent. of the population are overcrowded.

Those who are not personally familiar with the conditions under which the dwellers in our towns live can find in Mr C. Booth's *Labour and Life of the People* a carefully drawn picture of the homes of London, and his picture of the conditions of life in London is with slight modification a fair picture of the conditions which prevail in all our large towns[1].

The crowding together of so many in such a limited area is detrimental to health, and lowers the physical vitality. The Royal Commission of 1884 stated that

[1] If it be asked what class of persons live under the worst conditions as to overcrowding, the reply is the least skilled labourers and the irregularly employed, the class whose condition we considered in the last lecture, and men and women who have drunk themselves out of better positions of life, who, though now in regular employment, prefer to spend their money in drink rather than on rent, also idle vagabonds who work as little as they can. It is amongst these classes that overcrowding with its attendant evils chiefly finds place. Many are content by nature, or grow content by habit, with the one room and its indecencies. If they were in better houses to-morrow at the same rent they would not feel so happy. There is a sympathy between them and their degraded dwellings. They have mutual influence. See Report of Committee on the Bristol Poor, p. 40.

every working man and working woman lost upon the lowest average about 20 days in a year from simple exhaustion, occasioned by the vitiated air of overcrowded dwellings. The mischief, however, goes further than the actual day's labour lost; the vital energy is sapped, the power of work diminished, and this causes the very poor to be inefficient workers, and thus keeps down those who are already down.

The influence of overcrowding shows itself in the death-rate of children, which is about three times greater in poor districts than in better quarters of our towns[1]. The Church keeps Holy Innocents' Day every

[1] The statistics of the recruiting department of the army demonstrate the physical inferiority of the town bred to the country bred. In height, weight and chest measurement the countryman is decidedly superior. We are not deteriorating as a nation. Bad as the influence of town life is it is less deleterious than it was. The Local Government Board in 1873 compared the weights of factory children with the weights recorded in 1833 and found an increase of height and weight equivalent to one year, i.e. a child of 9 was in 1873 physically up to the standard of a child of 10 in 1833. While this is so it must not be forgotten that the vigour of the town population is to a large extent maintained by the constant immigration of the country population of superior physique. The report on the Condition of the Poor in Bristol states, p. 29, "Such immigration from the country into big cities feeds them with life. Without the continuous influx of such healthy and vigorous natures it is not too much to say that in these days, when the strain entailed by competition seriously affects the health of the town workman and that of his wife and children, the character and power of town labour would quickly deteriorate. It is certain that this country immigration is continually displacing older and feebler hands in towns and throwing them into the out-of-work or irregularly employed classes."

year in memory of the massacre of a few children who were slain nearly 2000 years ago at Bethlehem, but it allows to pass, almost unnoticed, the massacre of innocents which takes place every year, in every town, in England, and which is a massacre that could be prevented[1].

I will adduce but one fact in support of my statement that it can be prevented. In the Peabody buildings, though the earnings of the inmates are only 24*s.* a week, the death-rate is 2 per cent. below the average for the whole of London, and many per cent. below that of the poor streets. That shows how much the high death-rate is due to the conditions of the dwellings, and how, when the dwellings are improved, the massacre of the innocents ceases[2].

[1] The rate of infantile mortality per 100,000 is 21,803 in towns, 9717 in rural districts. Registrar-General's returns.

[2] Those who become acquainted with the family histories of the poorest class can hardly fail to have brought home to them how comparatively few survive out of large families. A favourite subject of conversation among the women is the number of children they have buried. Not that the parents are wanting in affection, far otherwise, but funerals play such a very important part in the lives of the very poor, and are such a source of interest, and give such opportunity of display of personal importance, that women report the number of funerals which stand to their credit with a tone akin to pride.

For similar observations by Miss Collett, see Booth's *Labour and Life of the People*, Vol. I. p. 475.

The effect of overcrowding upon the health of the people can be gauged from the following table taken from the Report of the Medical Officer of Health for the London County Council.

Destructive as the conditions of existence in the poor streets are to the bodily life, they are still more destructive to the moral life. How can the tender plant of decency and delicate feeling be reared where both sexes and all ages are compelled to sleep together? Think also of the difficulty of escaping from contaminating influences in a street of houses in which almost every room contains a family, and privacy is impossible. What would be the effect on our families if an adjoining room were occupied by a couple of single women, whose occupation of prostitution was carried on under the observation of all the children of the street, in which business the whole street took an interest, and, as I have seen them do, the children crowded round and tried to peep through cracks in door and window? Think of the sights and sounds which daily present themselves to eye and ear, the drunkenness, the quarrelling, the oaths. And then think of the words 'Home, sweet Home, there is no place like Home,' and there is a ring

Proportion of population living more than 2 in a room, in tenements of less than 5 rooms.	Death-rate from all causes, 1885—1892.
Districts under 15 p. c.	17·51 per 1000
15—20 p. c.	19·51 ,, ,,
20—25 p. c.	20·27 ,, ,,
25—30 p. c.	21·76 ,, ,,
30—35 p. c.	23·96 ,, ,,
35—40 p. c.	25·07 ,, ,,

"In one way or another, effective working life is ten years longer in the country than in the town, or speaking generally, is as seventy to sixty." C. Booth.

of mockery in the association of such words with such places. For us our home is a place into which we can retire and shut out all contaminating influences; a place of rest and peace from the toil of life; where with books, music, games, or our hobbies, we can occupy ourselves and enjoy the society of our families. But in poor districts, where a whole family is crowded into a room, there is neither rest nor peace within the narrow space of the home, and life is therefore lived in the street. To preserve the moral tone of a public school it is often found necessary to get rid of a boy or girl whose influence is bad. But those who live in a crowded tenement in a poor street have no power of ridding themselves of the contaminating influence of a degraded family, their poverty often prevents removal, and if they do remove, the neighbours of the next room they take may be little better, so they often stay on, attempting as best they may to keep themselves to themselves[1].

If the Church as watchman on the walls is to give

[1] There is a moral as well as a physical side to overcrowding; and in houses where the physical death-rate may be low, the moral death-rate (so to speak) may be high. Even the best system of drainage cannot carry off the effects on youthful characters of men, women, boys, girls living without separation of sexes in one room; nor the most sedulous isolation of infected physical cases counteract the smirching of modesty which comes from the constant contact with indecent sights. In many overcrowded houses innocence is often tainted in infancy and purity perishes in the teens. *Report of the Committee on the Bristol Poor*, 1884, published by P. S. King and Son, London.

men no rest till they establish, and till they make our cities a praise in the earth, we must never cease from crying aloud concerning the conditions of the homes of the citizens till the evils are remedied.

The Homes of the People a Religious Question.

"I am certain," said Lord Shaftesbury, "I speak the truth, and a truth which can be confirmed by the testimony of all experienced persons, clergy, medical men and all who are conversant with the working class, that until their domiciliary conditions are Christianised (I can use no less forcible term) all hope of moral and social improvement is utterly vain. The question of the homes of the people is in a very real sense a religious question." There is a deep hypocrisy in our being at our ease in Zion, as we sit in some church, where we utilise every external accessory to aid the devotion of the spirit, or sit in some comfortable pew in a chapel, and pray "Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven," if we do nothing to remove the causes of degradation in the courts and alleys which exist, perhaps, within a stone's throw. Subscribing to the stipend of a Curate, a Bible-woman, or Town Missionary, does not discharge all our duty to these our poorer neighbours. Of what avail are the labours of those so sent, if the daily and hourly influences of life are degrading?

Gladly do I admit the value of the work they do, and well do I know, that amidst all the squalor and degradation, there are some who withstand the evil influences and live pure and noble lives, and that the poor are true Samaritans, true neighbours, to the poor: but for the many, the influence of their environment is destructive of characters which are by nature capable of good; for the natural depravity of the poor is not greater than that of any other class, their natural goodness is not less, they are not born bad, they are what they are very largely because of the conditions under which their poverty compels them to live in our towns.

We cannot shelter ourselves under the plea that such ills are the result of the social system, the product of economic law. That plea would justify any iniquity which exists. That plea was urged when Lord Shaftesbury drew attention to the frightful miseries of factory children. That evil is remedied. The fact is, the social system is what we choose to make it; if we tolerate evils they will remain; if we resolutely determine, we can mend them or end them.

The knowledge of economic law is a necessary means to an end. When we know the causes which produce a result we have learnt how to set to work. Our knowledge of the laws of nature is the source of our power over nature. Our knowledge of economic laws gives us power over social conditions.

Causes of Overcrowding.

Let me indicate some of the economic causes which have produced the present conditions.

The population of our towns has grown by leaps and bounds, but the increase in dwellings has been restricted by the individual ownership of land. More people required more houses, but additional houses could not be built without land, and the owners of eligible building sites would not part with the land except at high prices, they would wait till the urgent necessity of the people for land on which to build would enable them to realise from £1000 to £2000 per acre or more. The law made waiting profitable by exempting the land from taxation; while waiting, owners are rated, not on the real value of the land for building, but on its agricultural value, not on say £50 but on £4 per acre[1]. Our land system

[1] The system of Compounding for the Rates by which large deductions, as much as 30 per cent., are made in the case of all property below a certain rental has in many towns operated as a barrier against any further improvement in the dwellings of the wage-earning population. In Gateshead compounding is allowed where the rent does not exceed 5*s*. per week, and as a result there are practically no houses erected at any rental above that. It would not pay to provide one or two additional bedrooms as might be done at a slight extra cost, for the extra outlay could not be recouped by an increase in the rent of 4*d*. or 6*d*. a week because then the deduction for Compounding would not be allowed. Compounding was introduced to save trouble and loss to the rating authorities by making it profitable for the owners of tenement property to pay the rates, and so relieve the rate

enhanced the value of sites, and made new houses costly, and the more costly it is to erect additional houses, the greater becomes the value of all houses which exist, and the higher rise the rents, and therefore it becomes increasingly difficult for those whose incomes are small to obtain adequate house room.

The difficulty of obtaining land on the outskirts for the expansion of towns as population increased made it profitable to build on every available space within the town. Garden Court is a common name, which denotes that what was once the garden of a self-contained dwelling has been covered over with buildings, and the light and air space of the town correspondingly reduced. This process of filling up the small open spaces which were formerly scattered over the town has been intensified by the facilities of communication, which have enabled the well-to-do to find fresh air and space far from their place of business. The poorer worker could not afford time, or money, to go outside the town, so the richer man who left turned his house into tenements and built over the space around it. A house built for the occupation of a single family is ill adapted for the occupancy of 10 or 20 families, is ill furnished with the conveniences of decent existence. Much more than light and

collectors of the difficulty of collecting from a poor and migratory class. It has been efficacious for that purpose, but its influence in preventing the further improvement of working class dwellings is I venture to think an evil which more than counterbalances the good.

ventilation were lost when tradesmen ceased to live over their shop, or next door to their factory, there was loss of contact of the different classes, loss of that personal knowledge of each other's lives, which is the best foundation of all true helpfulness of one class by another. It is this removal of the well-to-do which brought about that congregation of the poor in large masses which now saddens and disheartens us.

Thus the chief cause at the root of overcrowding is selfish greed, operating through our present system of absolute ownership in land[1]. As the evils which the unchecked pursuit of gain in industrial manufacture occasioned rendered Factory Acts a necessity to restrain the oppression of the defenceless wage-earners, so in like manner the evils of overcrowding

[1] This has enabled the owners of suburban sites and of land in towns to take advantage of the necessities of their neighbours, and has led them to attach more importance to the money they were able to obtain in consequence of these necessities than to the well-being of their fellow-men. The men who acted thus were not necessarily worse than others; they acted as others acted on the accepted principle that each man should make the most he could of his own, and did not realise the evils they were causing, or the responsibility they were incurring. To change the method of ownership which the law has so long sanctioned and abolish land monopoly would be difficult now, and could not be fairly or justly effected by any sudden legislative enactment, but efforts should be made to prevent the increase of value which is occasioned by the growth of the population of towns enriching private individuals. The principle of betterment is with justice capable of wide extension. There might be periodical valuations of sites, and any increase in value might be made payable to the municipality as a ground-rent.

caused the community, by Parliamentary enactment, to check the right of a man to do as he likes with his own. By Public Health Acts, Sanitary Regulations, Building Acts, Town Bye-Laws, regulations are laid down, insisting upon a certain amount of space and light and sanitary requirements, and powers have been conferred upon municipalities, by the exercise of which they can condemn dwellings unfit for habitation, can pull down whole areas which are unsanitary and rebuild them. Parliament has discharged its duty so far as passing laws is concerned. Lord Salisbury long ago said, "As to these sanitary evils, nothing is wanted beyond this, that the law should do in effect what, as it now stands, it professes to do." The Local Government Board in a circular issued (about 1888) said: "We cannot avoid the conclusion that a large number of the working population of this country are at present housed in tenements which are either unfit for human habitation, or in such a condition as to be distinctly prejudicial to the health of the inmates. There can be no doubt of the gravity of the evils which result from the unsanitary condition of the dwellings of the poor, or of the ability of sanitary authorities, by a strenuous and judicious exercise of the powers which the Legislature has conferred on them for this purpose, to effect a very material improvement in the present condition of these dwellings.... These have been entrusted to the sanitary authorities in order that they may be exercised for the

protection of the poor, who are unable themselves, for the most part, to enforce the observance of the laws relating to the public health by the landlords."

Since that circular was issued the various laws have been consolidated, and further powers given in the Housing of the Working Classes Act of 1890. And yet Lady Jeune truly wrote not long ago, "All over London the sanitary authorities have neglected their duty. Those who labour among the indigent find that the greatest difficulty of rendering them permanent and efficient aid is due to the shocking unsanitary conditions under which they have to live," and we who labour in provincial towns have to make a similar statement.

The Need of stronger Public Opinion.

How comes this contrast between what might be and what is? As I was writing this an evening paper supplied an illustration. A number of unsanitary conditions were reported to a District Council in the North of England, not for the first, nor even the second time. What was done? The Council formally resolved that nothing should be done. The Medical Officer naturally remarked, that in the face of such a resolution it was a waste of time for him to report sanitary defects. The Council manifestly thought so too. The members of that Council were probably no worse than other men, and most likely attended church or chapel, but it had

never come home to them that their religious profession carried with it the obligation of preventing their brethren suffering from ill health, and that "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" had any direct bearing on the vote they gave at a Council meeting.

Sanitary reform involved expense; they did not want expense; that was the aspect which presented itself to their minds; the health and well-being of those who chose or were compelled to live in those unsanitary houses seemed no concern of theirs, they did not realise that they were their brothers' keepers.

But they were not the only persons at fault. The electors who elected them must share the responsibility. If the Council had not felt sure the electors were apathetic they would have taken action, and taken it quickly.

The Duty of the Church.

Here in this matter of the homes of the citizens the first duty of the Church is to exercise its prophetic office by asserting the principle of human brotherhood, and labouring to bring home to every conscience the duty of securing brotherly conditions of life, a fuller recognition of the principle "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." It can placard the facts which disgrace our towns and degrade our brethren, and quicken conscience to the contrast between the principles which we acknowledge and the facts of life, and so create public opinion.

It is the duty of the Church, as watchmen on the walls, to bring home responsibility, and make everyone whose conscience it can touch alive to the fact that, in so far as he is a factor in the opinion of the town, he is responsible for the evils which are permitted to exist. It is the duty of the Church to bring home to every owner that he is personally responsible for the condition of the property from which he draws his rents, and that he cannot rid himself of that responsibility by appointing an agent to collect his rents. The agent may stand between him and his tenants, but he does not stand between him and the judgment of God. Mr Chamberlain has said, the law should make it an offence punishable by a heavy fine to own property in a state unfit for human habitation. Someone else has suggested that owners of such property should be classed with the sellers of unsound meat, and treated accordingly.

But whatever the law may or may not do, the Church should make it impossible for the conscience of any Churchman to draw revenue from any property, unless there is in connection with it all that is required for healthy human life.

Duties of Occupiers.

But there is another side to the question. The blame for existing evils does not all lie at the doors of landlords and landowners. Not unfrequently landlords,

who have striven hard and spared no expense to render their property fit for human habitation, have found their efforts and their expenditure rendered futile by the tenants.

In my parish there was a row of houses in wretched condition, broken windows, broken plaster, filth, dirt, squalor. The owner turned out the tenants, and turned in carpenters, plasterers, and builders, and provided every convenience. When finished, all was done that a landlord could do to make decent homes. The greater part of the row was let to the same class of tenant as the previous occupants, and in less than 12 months they were as dirty, as miserable looking, as squalid as before. You may take a family out of a hovel, but if the members of that family are vicious, dirty, undisciplined, the better house will soon become a filthy hovel. There are types which cannot be suddenly reformed even if their environment is changed.

Miss Octavia Hill[1] describes the effect of admitting persons of this class as tenants of a block of model dwellings, and likens it to taking a bad girl into a school. "Regulations are of no avail, no public inspection can possibly for more than an hour or two secure order, no resident superintendent has at once conscience, nerve, and devotion, single handed to stem the violence, the dirt, the noise, the quarrels: no body

[1] Booth, *Labour and Life of the People*, Vol. II. p. 265.

of public opinion on the part of the tenants themselves asserts itself, one by one disheartened the tidier ones depart, the rampant remain and prevail. Sinks and drains are stopped; yards provided for exercise must be closed because of misbehaviour; boys bathe in drinking water cisterns: wash-houses on staircases, or staircases themselves, become the nightly haunt of the vicious, the Sunday gambling places of boys; the yell of the drunkard echoes through the hollow passages, the stairs are blocked by dirty children, and the life of any decent hard-working family becomes intolerable."

We find ourselves shut up in a vicious circle. The influence of bad homes has formed bad habits and these habits once acquired destroy good homes. Is there any way out of the difficulty? Can we convert the apparently vicious circle into an ascending spiral? Much may be done by legislative coercion.

If the law enforce the responsibilities of those who own houses, it is only fair it should enforce the responsibilities of those who occupy them. The claim of brotherhood carries with it the claim of brotherly living. We need, as I pointed out in the first lecture, a fuller recognition of the principle, that the enforcement of discipline is not inconsistent with the recognition of brotherhood. In the interest of the whole family each must order his life so as not to harm the life of the community. We are more and more recognising this principle and embodying it in our legislation. We compel

parents to send their children to school, we have extended the sphere of the law for better enforcement of parental responsibility, and we enforce sanitary regulations, and the removal of persons suffering from infectious diseases[1].

With the aggregation of population and the increasing complexity of human relationships, industrial and social, the need of restrictive legislation increases. A man may ride his bicycle at 20 miles an hour along a desolate country road, but if he ride down Fleet Street, his pace must be sober, and that in the interest of others as well as of himself. The dweller in towns, for the privileges he obtains, must sacrifice much of the right to do as he likes, he must submit to the law for the sake of the general well-being. I will not discuss whether the law should be enforced through the landlord or the tenant, but, as illustrative of what may be done in the direction I have indicated, I will describe what is done in Berlin[2].

[1] Few pieces of legislation have had more salutary effects than the passing of the Children's Charter, and the action of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty in enforcing it. Law has often an educative influence, and the law in question, by making it less difficult to prove neglect and enforce penalties, has quickened the sense of parental responsibilities among those who interpreted parental liberty as parental license, and it is raising the recognised standard of parental duty. While we cannot legislate in advance of public opinion, legislation can quicken the pace of the laggards, and raise their practice and their sentiments nearer the average level.

[2] The following paragraph is abbreviated from *A Study in Municipal Government* by James Pollard.

Illustration from Berlin.

Every house proprietor is bound, when he finds his tenants keeping their dwellings in a filthy state, to warn them to cleanse them forthwith; if they decline, ejectment follows. If the landlord neglects his duty the Sanitary officer will order out the inhabitants and cleanse the house at the landlord's expense. The inhabitants are removed to shelters where they and their clothes are cleansed. They pursue their avocations, the shelter being their temporary home, and if out of work are employed and paid for what they do. After a few weeks they are allowed once more to betake themselves to a home of their own, all the better for the lessons they have learned. When people continue incorrigibly dirty they are drafted off to the sewage fields, or some other department of public work, where their earnings are used, in the first instance, to defray the cost of their own keep, the balance being applied in the next place to the maintenance of their families, who pass under the care of the authorities. And all this is done with the assent and approval of the general population. And with the result, that "you may go through the quarters of the city where the very poorest live—you see many signs of poverty, scanty furnishing in the houses, poorly clad men and women, children running barefoot—yet they are clean, and for the most part even tidy. You will see all this, but you will find

nothing corresponding to the filth and squalid wretchedness which meet you any hour of the day or night in the poorer parts of our English towns[1].

In the Middle Ages the Church preached a crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land from the infidel which stirred men to deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice. That is a type of service and sacrifice which belongs to an age that is past.

> The Knight's bones are dust
> And his good sword rust,

but the spirit which animated him must ever live in Christian men and seek new forms of sacrifice and service. In the coming 20th century the Church may well preach a yet nobler crusade for the regaining home life for our people, winning true homes wherein Christian life shall be possible, winning them back from the grasp of jerry builder, slum landlord and land monopoly, and driving from them filth, foulness and disease. Under the smoky canopy of a modern city

[1] Our Provincial towns can adopt Bye-laws which would enable them to control the number of persons in every tenement house where more than one set of tenants use the same front door and would also give them additional powers over the sanitary arrangements, cleansing and ventilation. Unfortunately the Act which confers these powers makes these adoptions optional. I know one Corporation in the North of England which has adopted these powers and has allowed them to remain a dead letter, the reason alleged being that the Inspector of Nuisances would require an additional helper and that would cost £75 a year. Therefore the town which stands head of the list for overcrowding lets things alone.

there lie opportunities of nobler self-sacrifice and devotion to duty, and to the cause of the weak and helpless, than ever feudal times afforded.

"Sigh not for the old heroic ages back;
The heroes were but brave and earnest men.
Do thou but hero-like pursue thy track:
Striving, not sighing, brings them back again.
The hero's path is straight to do and say
God's words and work in spite of toil and shame;
Labours enough will meet thee on thy way,
Do thou forsake it not to seek for them."

The Church must inspire Democracy.

I do not say the Church as an organised body should perform the work; the method of our age is to work through elected bodies, and for the community as a whole to act through its representatives. It has been wisely said, that it is by common action that a healthy spirit becomes common, and the tone of public opinion may be more healthy when the Town Council engages in doing good, than when doing good is the monopoly of individuals, or of Societies, or of Church organisations. If nations have been ennobled by wars undertaken against an enemy, towns may be ennobled by work undertaken against the evils of poverty.

Town Councils will engage in doing good when public opinion is sufficiently strong, and when public opinion is powerful enough the difficulties which the private ownership of land occasions will be equitably

solved. The first practical work is to rouse Town Councils and those who elect them to the sense of their powers, to make them feel that the reason of their being is not political but social, that their duty is not the salvation of the pockets of the rich, but the salvation of the poorer and weaker members of the community. And surely it is the special function of the Church to create a righteous public opinion, to infuse it with a lofty ideal of duty, and direct the popular will towards noble aims. And the Church will best do its work as watchman on the walls if it never holds its peace, and if they who mention the Lord keep not silence.

We live in an age of Democracy, and the form by which Democracy works is by choice of representatives to do its will; the people of the whole nation, the citizens of each town, by the choice they make, give their mandate as to what they desire done, and also what they wish left undone. Mazzini, one of the ablest prophets of Democracy, has said, "that not till Democracy becomes a religious movement can it hope to carry the victory." But what is religion in its practical bearing on life? In its negative aspect it is refraining from evil: in its positive aspect it is the service of man; and may it not be that Democracy will become religious by working and labouring through its representatives for the elevation of men, in recognising as its duty the winning for all the fullest and best life possible? Here,

if it include more than the mere material aspect of life, it may find vent for enthusiasm; here, noble aspiration after a high ideal, and this ideal it is the business of the Church as watchman on the wall to persistently proclaim, and give men no rest till it becomes the ideal of the man in the street below. And if in pursuit of this aim Democracy comes to recognise that it is endeavouring to realise among men the eternal laws of that God who created and who governs the world, His eternal principles of righteousness, justice and love, principles which find their fullest expression in the revelation of God given in Christ, then that aim will become a faith. It will become a faith which will not be baffled by failure or impatient of slow success, for it will be supported by confidence in its yet unseen and distant ends, knowing that it is working for the realisation of the eternal principles of God and the doing of His will, working on assured lines to an assured end, a faith in ultimate victory, like the faith of Isaiah, which will cause it neither to give nor take rest till it make our Jerusalem, our cities, a praise in the earth. Thus through love of the brethren whom it has seen, Democracy may be led upward to the love of God whom it has not seen.

The Need of Personal Work.

The Church has yet other work to do beyond endeavouring to inspire Democracy with an ideal and urging it to use its collective powers to secure more

healthy homes; other work than bringing home their responsibilities to the consciences of landlords and tenants. The Church must seek among its members for volunteers, for those who will give personal service in the work of reclamation. Numbers have lost the true idea of home and home life, their children are growing up without its influence, and they can only be won back to true home life by personal influence.

There is need that those who recognise Christ in the poor, and who have the requisite gifts of patience and tact, should spend themselves in the service of saving and reclaiming. It is easy to stand on a platform and denounce the slum landlord or dirty tenant; it is much more difficult, but much more after the fashion of Christ, to do as Miss Octavia Hill and her helpers do, take some one set of people, a row or a street, and week by week as you go round to collect the rents make friends with the people, and quietly, steadily encourage the higher and nobler aspirations which exist in even the degraded. Where the relations of life are reduced to a mere cash nexus, the absence of human sympathy, of personal knowledge and friendship, hardens life. The building up of character needs personal service and personal love. Centuries ago the Church exhorted the faithful who possessed wealth to make noble use of it by emancipating slaves, the Church of to-day may well teach the faithful that wealth can be put to fewer nobler uses than the rebuilding of slum

property[1], and that leisure can scarcely be better employed than in endeavouring to free our brethren who dwell in the slums from the evil influences which surround them.

In proportion as Christians who have wealth and leisure come in personal contact with the lives of their poorer brethren they will become conscious that much more than sanitary dwellings and a good water supply are needed, that the whole life needs brightening. The increasing division of labour makes work more and more monotonous, and the life of even the well-paid artisan living amid a labyrinth of dreary streets where every house is alike is very dull[2]. It is dullness, the want of variety, the want of having learnt the art of spending his hours of leisure wisely, which often drives him to the public-house, or low saloon, or anywhere where he can find something which will relieve the dull monotony of life. Better playgrounds than the streets are needed for the children, clubs are needed for the young men and young women, and (more than the institutions themselves) those who will teach

[1] Even under the adverse conditions which have been generated under our land system the rebuilding of slum property need not be an unprofitable investment even financially. The Improved Industrial Dwellings Company pay 5 per cent. and have reduced their indebtedness.

Miss Octavia Hill has renovated old cottage property so that the owners have received a fair return on the expenditure.

[2] Compare C. H. Pearson's *National Life and Character.*

them to use such places as something more than the means to pass an idle hour, in a word, to regard them as opportunities of cultivating higher tastes and pursuits. University Settlements are a step in the right direction, good as far as they go, but as yet they have barely touched the life of the people. The rich surround themselves with works of art, the poor have none, and so few opportunities of seeing any, that they have not learnt to understand or admire them. The well-to-do have many pleasures to occupy their leisure hours, music, science, literature and change of scene by means of travel. A share in these the poor need[1]. The dwellers in the East end of our towns will not be converted by missionaries and tracts sent by dwellers in the West end. The dwellers in the West end must go to the dwellers in the East themselves, share with the East those pleasures which give interest and delight to the dwellers in the West, and make

[1] "I believe that there are some persons, not careless or unkind persons only, but what may be called professional philanthropists, who hold that any attempt to provide the poor with music, flowers, amusements and the like is merely foolish and sentimental, and that our duty to them lies only in the more serious region of education, religion, and so on. This is a point of view which I can never quite understand. I cannot understand how a man can feel himself so separate from his fellow creatures as to think that the pleasures which are quite worth his attention in his own case can become mere superfluous trivialities in the case of the poor men, women and children who have so few pleasures of their own." *Extract from a speech of the Duke of Albany at Liverpool*, Jan. 20, 1884.

up the fulness of their life. When the dwellers in the West go thus to the dwellers in the East they will be themselves converted, for they will have turned to Christ and accepted His yoke of personal service, and the dwellers in the East, recognising the true helpfulness of the Christian life, will be converted too.

LECTURE IV.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHURCH TOWARDS THE VICES OF OUR TOWNS.

REV. XXI. 10, 11.

He carried me away in the spirit to a great and high mountain, and shewed me that great city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God, having the glory of God.

REV. XXII. 3, 15.

And there shall be no more curse: but the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in it; and his servants shall serve him.

Without are dogs, and sorcerers, and whoremongers, and murderers, and idolaters, and whosoever loveth and maketh a lie.

THE Church by its selection of passages for the lessons for Septuagesima[1] desires to set the direction of our thoughts, and impress upon our minds the fact that the purpose of creation is to find its fulfilment in the New Jerusalem, the holy city.

[1] Preached on Feb. 2nd, Septuagesima Sunday.

It is very remarkable that when we, who live in an age in which mechanical inventions and the application of scientific discoveries to the satisfaction of human desires have made town life the life of the greater portion of civilised man, look back to the ideal of a perfect social state which gladdened the hearts of Christians in the very earliest age, we find it depicted as life in a city, and that the Apostle, gifted with the deepest spiritual insight, drew as his picture of Heaven—the Christian's ultimate goal, the culmination of his desire —a city, the ideal of which comes from Heaven, from God, but which descends out of Heaven and is built on earth.

At the end of this 19th century the Church, face to face with the problems which arise from the massing together of men in cities, needs to reassert this ideal, to bring it back from 'above the deep blue sky,' whither hymn-writers and preachers have relegated it, and declare that the Church's ideal of truly happy human life is life lived in the full variety of the social relationship of a busy city, where the Throne of God is set up on high and men serve Him.

The Christian Vision of the Ideal City.

Ideals, when vivid and intense, have a wonderful way of working out their own fulfilment, they set the direction of effort. What men hope for, that they become,

and men are what their aspirations are. What men look for, that they work for, and prophets try to establish their own prophecies[1].

If this ideal of the heavenly city captivate once again the imagination of the Church, and become the expression of its hope, and Churchmen as a body recognise that it is the purpose of God that there should be such a city built on earth, that in spite of the difficulties the task is possible, because it is the will of God the thing should be done, then the ideal will become an inspiring faith, and the energies of the Church will be concentrated on building up the city of God, and in definitely working to bring our present cities nearer that ideal.

We who live amid the unbrotherly contrasts which exist where men are massed together, and witness every day the extremes of selfish luxury and squalid poverty, and are familiar with the signs of city vice; the half-starved stunted children selling the evening edition which gives the latest betting to harsh-featured men and women; the painted harlot plying her awful trade under the glare of the gas-lamp; the drunkard reeling home an object of terror to the woman he has sworn to love; or the still more degraded spectacle of the squalid mother with a babe in her arms pushing her way into

[1] The effect of the ideal of the Christian city and the need of giving form and shape to the ideal are well worked out by the Rev. Canon Barnett in a Sermon on Civic Duties in Lent in London.

a bar—we who live amid such sights need to have our hearts and our courage sustained by faith in the vision of the ideal city, by the belief that that city is no mere dream but really exists, in archetypal form, in the mind of God, and that, if we bend our energies to realise it, we are in very truth fellow-workers with God[1].

We do want renewed faith in the ideal city of S. John's prophetic vision as the heaven the Church is striving to win for men[2].

The Christian Liturgy.

And we need men who, allied to the faith and imagination of an Isaiah or a S. John, have the accurate disciplined knowledge of an age accustomed to look at facts, and observe them, so as to ascertain the sequence of cause and effect, and master their relationship. In sociology, as in natural science, it is by obeying nature we acquire the power of mastery and control. We want men who, servants to truth and facts, will point the way to the realisation of their vision of the Divinely-ordered city. Such men it is surely the business of the schools of theology in our Universities to train. We need also the revival of the old idea of the word

[1] 2 Cor. vi. 1.

[2] The nineteenth century has been an age of physical science, the twentieth century is likely to be an age of social science, of 'young men seeing visions and old men dreaming dreams' of the city of God on earth.

Liturgy (λειτουργία), which embraced the performance by the citizens of public duties. Christians who live in the 19th century require to realise that participation in the Liturgy in church should be regarded as a preparation, and inspiration, for the performance of the Liturgy out of church—their duties as citizens.

Evils which result from Vice.

In the previous lectures I have spoken of some of the problems of city life which result from the circumstances which beset men's lives—irregular employment and the evil environment of wretched and crowded homes, and have indicated, as far as I have been able, what should be the attitude of the Church in its efforts to change the environment. As the Christian Faith teaches us that God is our Father, and that all men are members of one family, it is the duty of the Church to constantly proclaim that in the city, and among the citizens, our relationships should be those of family life, and the Church of Christ can never rest content till those relationships are realised in the conditions of our city life.

Bishop Westcott has truly said, "For us, each amelioration of man's circumstances is the translation of a fragment of our Creed into action, and not the self-shaped effort of a kindly nature. It answers, as we believe, to the will of God: and the faith which quickened the purpose is sufficient to accomplish it. Our

citizenship, the type of every social privilege and duty, exists in heaven. That ideal underlies, limits, transfigures our earthly citizenship."

To-day I wish to speak of a different class of problems. Not of those evils which arise from the unbrotherly conditions of the outward circumstances of life, but of those which are the developments of evil tendencies in men, and which manifest themselves in vices which exist in a more glaring form in cities, or find in cities a soil more congenial to their growth.

It may be said that all the evils of city life are due to the vices of men, and that if the Throne of God were set up in the city, and all men served Him, all forms of evil would disappear, justice and righteousness would prevail in every relation of life, there would be no grasping greed, no idleness, no neglected children, no selfish luxury, no grinding the face of the poor, no abject poverty. That is true. Nevertheless there are vices which are specially marked when men congregate in large numbers. Drunkenness, Gambling, Immorality, and dissipation generally—they are vices which S. John mentions as outside the walls of the ideal city, not permitted to enter therein. How can the Church help to cast them out of our cities? These vices are not confined to cities, but they assume a more aggravated form in them, therefore their consideration raises the further question as to whether there is not some special evil in city life which tends to their aggravation.

The Attitude of the Church.

Concerning the attitude of the Church towards these evils there is no doubt, the Church condemns them, and, like all infringements of the moral code, these vices are highly anti-social. "Drink and betting," said the President of the Trades Union Congress at Norwich, "are far worse enemies of the working classes than all the capitalists put together." That is, in his opinion, produce more evil and social mischief than the good which the celebrated drastic collectivist resolution would effect—even were its desire realised.

The Church has waged war with all these vices for nineteen centuries—a warfare which has been waged with varied conditions of success—nevertheless they exist, and are firmly entrenched in our cities.

The fact that the Church condemns these vices, and has done so for ages, makes it difficult to avoid the commonplace and the conventional; yet it is impossible to speak of the problems of city life, impossible to treat of the work of the Church in rebuilding our cities according to the Divine plan, without some reference to the vices which do so much to spoil our cities and cause misery among the citizens. Pardon me if I only reiterate what you already know. These vices not only exist to-day, but their mighty strength is the greatest of all obstacles to the realisation of the holy city for whose building we long and pray—the

manner in which they thwart our desire, as well as logical necessity, compel me to speak of the attitude of the Church towards them, and how it can best combat them in this present time.

Intemperance.

First, Intemperance, the most visible of all in its effects. Intemperance is the disgrace and shame of our country, and its greatest weakness. The world knows that. Other nations taunt us with that. "It is a blessed thing for the world that you Anglo-Saxons are a drunken race. Such are your powers, and energy, and talent, that otherwise you would have become the masters of the world," was the stinging remark of a foreigner.

Those who live in towns, and know the lives of their fellow-citizens, feel that it is almost impossible to exaggerate the evils and sorrows which this terrible vice produces. It would be easy for me to describe in lurid colours scenes of misery and wretchedness I have seen as a consequence of this vice, which ruins so many homes and degrades so many lives, but I forbear lest I should seem to those who are not behind the scenes to exaggerate, and the suspicion of exaggeration undermines sympathy and hinders conviction, and especially does it do so with members of a University, who have a dread and distrust of sensationalism. As evidence of the magnitude of this vice I will appeal to the testi-

mony of men of eminence whom none will regard as prejudiced fanatics.

Mr Gladstone's remarkable statement is doubtless familiar: "More evils are wrought by Intemperance than by the three great historic scourges of war, pestilence and famine, and this is true for us, and is the measure of our discredit and disgrace." Ruskin says: "The encouragement of drunkenness for the sake of profit is one of the most barbarous methods of obtaining money ever practised by the bravadoes of any age or country." The late Duke of Albany said: "Drink is the only terrible enemy England has to fear." The late Lord Shaftesbury said: "The more I travel up and down the country the more I am convinced of the necessity for Temperance organisations. I am persuaded but for their existence we should be immersed in such an ocean of immorality and vice, as would make this country uninhabitable."

The late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge said: "I can keep no terms with a vice that fills our gaols, destroys the peace and comforts of homes, and debases and brutalises the people of these islands." Justice Hawkins says: "Nine out of every ten cases of violence that come before me are caused by Drink." The late Sir Astley Cooper, M.D., said: "I never suffer ardent spirits in my house, believing them to be evil spirits. If the poor could only see the white livers and shattered nervous systems that I have witnessed as the result of

their use, they would know that spirits and poison meant the same thing." The late Sir Andrew Clark said: "As I think of the evils produced by strong drink I feel almost disposed to give up everything and go forth on a holy crusade, beseeching men to beware of this enemy of the race." The late Richard Cobden said: "Every day confirms the conviction that the Temperance question lies at the bottom of all social and political reform." The late John Bright said: "If for ten years England could get rid of strong drink she would in that time become such a paradise as we should hardly recognise."

Let me also appeal to the unimpassioned evidence of figures:

Annual Expenditure on Drink, £138,000,000; or, £3. 11s. 6d. per head.

Number of Houses licensed for Sale of Drink, 180,000; or 1 in 38, and 1 for every 200 people.

The convictions for Drunkenness last year amounted to 190,000.

Killed by Drink, according to Dr Norman Kerr's estimate, 120,000 annually.

Made insane: Number of lunatics last year in our asylums whose insanity was definitely traced to Drink, 2,056.

Made Paupers; of 1,014,000 Paupers a considerable portion reduced to poverty by the drunken habits of themselves or their parents.

Wounded in other ways: by loss of occupation, reputation, affection, comfort, character, money; an immense multitude, of whom there is no statistical record.

That is evidence enough of the extent to which Intemperance prevails. But what is it which gives to this vice its power—a power so great that, notwithstanding the visible evils which it occasions, intemperance continues among the citizens of the city?

Causes of Intemperance.

Ancient records demonstrate that in all ages and among all races, whenever and wherever men have discovered the art of making intoxicating drink, the pleasurable bodily sensations which drink occasions have possessed a strong attractive fascination for men. Wine maketh glad the heart of man. The cause of drinking, and of the drunkenness which it occasions, is the desire of that kind of pleasure. It is a form of bodily gratification—of self-indulgence.

All habits strengthen by use, but there is a subtle influence in all forms of alcohol which undermines the power of self-control, and causes free indulgence in this kind of pleasure to exercise an irresistible fascination, which makes men victims of the appetite, and binds them in the bondage of an awful slavery—and not only do they suffer themselves, but they transmit to their

children an increased desire for this form of pleasure, and a weakened power of self-control[1]—a terrible form of legacy.

The attractive power of the fascination for intoxicating drink is increased by bodily debility, therefore the conditions under which the poorest section of our citizens live, the crowded rooms, the vitiated atmosphere, increase the craving for stimulating drink which will for a brief space invigorate the jaded forms and rouse the dulled faculties. They drink to "forget their poverty and remember their misery no more." Also that monotony of toil which, owing to extreme division of labour in modern industry, confines the life work of a man to some one simple operation, one single act, such as cutting wire into lengths, or pulling a lever, and doing that thousands of times a day and millions of times a year, does create a longing for excitement which finds its readiest satisfaction in drinking and gambling. These predispositions to yield to the fascination of intoxicating drink are enormously aggravated by our social customs, which have connected indulgence in the pleasure which intoxicating drink gives with all

[1] How far the widespread desire for stimulants which characterises the English race is to be regarded as the accumulated result of tendencies transmitted through many generations is somewhat difficult to determine. Uncivilised races, who have relatively untainted natures in this respect, are nevertheless attracted even more strongly than Englishmen by the pleasurable sensations of alcohol, and are even less able to resist its fascination.

forms of social intercourse; and the evil is still further intensified by the multiplication of the means of gratification. Hence the cruelty of multiplying places for the sale of drink among the poorest, the circumstances of whose lives increase the power of the fascination of this kind of indulgence, and who suffer most from its gratification. While I mention poverty, monotony, and the facilities afforded for the sale of drink, as tending to increase the fascination of this form of self-indulgence and therefore contributory causes, I think that a certain school of writers exaggerate when they describe them as *the* causes of Drunkenness, and are under a delusion when they speak of their removal as the means whereby Drunkenness can be, and will be, driven out from the city. Lessen the fascination and you will lessen the indulgence, but you will not have destroyed the power of the fascination.

The assertion that poverty is *the* cause of Drunkenness, and not Drunkenness the cause of poverty, is in part a reaction from the opposite exaggeration of those intemperate advocates of temperance who attribute every social evil to drunkenness; in part the result of the desire of those who realise the evil effects of economic conditions to attribute all evils to that cause; a mistake as great as the other, and more mischievous, because it tends to soothe the conscience, and weaken the sense of responsibility, by the excuse that drunkenness is more a man's misfortune than his fault.

Admit to the full that the vitiated air of overcrowded dwellings increases the desire for stimulants and excitement, and that improved dwellings would reduce the liability to drunkenness, yet the fact remains that where all the external advantages are possessed drunkenness is not eradicated, and still drags its victims down to poverty. In the worst slums, and among the worst contributions to its squalor, are to be found those who were reared in every comfort, who commenced life with regular employment, and who had every hope of a happy and successful career. Drink has caused their poverty, and not poverty their drunkenness.

There are those who have had all the advantages of University training, with all the interests in life which it develops and the variety of pursuits it opens up, there are men who have taken high honours, there are numbers of titled ladies, educated ladies, women of the middle class and professional men, who have been stung by the serpent which lieth at the bottom of the wine-cup—who have been degraded and impoverished.

Probably scarce one of those whom I am now addressing does not recall with sadness some relative or dear friend who is dead, or worse than dead, in consequence of the power of strong drink. Drunkenness is not confined to any one class, it exists among the rich, the middle class, the artisans and the labourers. It is more conspicuous among the poor, because, living more in the street and under public view, they are less

able to hide it, and the tolerance of this vice by the public opinion of their circle renders them less anxious to do so. More than change of environment is needed, and therefore the casting out this vice requires a twofold work, an attack on the primary cause and an attack on the secondary and contributory causes.

Attitude of the Church to the Primary Cause.

What the attitude of the Church should be towards the primary cause is clear. The pleasurable sensations which intoxicating drinks occasion cannot be destroyed, but their power to fascinate can be diminished by rousing conscience to the sin of this form of self-indulgence. Here, as in other city evils which we have considered, the first duty of the Church is to arouse the conscience of her own members, and bring home to them the conviction that self-indulgence which ends in drunkenness is a shame and disgrace—a sin in the sight of God.

It may be said everyone admits this. They may assent to it in theory, but certainly the consciences of many Churchmen are not very sensitive on the subject. During the last 50 years there has been a considerable quickening of conscience, and it is now regarded as shameful and utterly inconsistent with Christian profession for Clergy, Churchwardens or Church Officers to be intemperate. We realise the progress which has been made when we read such a book as Dean Ramsay's

Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character, or any other work which gives a glimpse into the social life and opinions of the early part of the century.

But we need to go further and quicken the conscience till every member of the Church realises, that not only is intoxication inconsistent with Church membership, but that the self-indulgence of frequent drinking, even though it stop short of intoxication, is wrong[1].

As long as Churchmen look upon high living as right for those who can afford it, so long will the poorer portion of our citizens regard bodily self-indulgence as one of the legitimate aims of life. The disciples of Christ must be the salt which prevents the corruption of the public opinion of the city. If the salt have lost its savour wherewith can it be salted?

[1] I do not say the Church should regard total abstinence as a necessity for consistent membership. The New Testament does not support such a contention, and the attempt of some to set up a standard which the New Testament does not sanction will inevitably produce a reaction and do harm, as departure from truth always does. But the Church can, and should appeal, as S. Paul does, to the conscience of her members, and ask each to consider whether he thinks in view of the present distress he should give up what is lawful, because the exercise of his liberty may strengthen those drinking customs which are a cause of stumbling to weaker brethren.

I do not attempt to dictate on this subject to any man, believing it to be one specially open to the apostolic rule, "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind."

The Church and the Secondary Cause.

But conscience when quickened to the evils of the vice of Intemperance is roused to pity for the victims of the vice. In the last 50 years, as the conscience of the Church has been gradually quickened, the Church has become more active in its efforts to rescue the victims of Intemperance. It is unnecessary to demonstrate the growth of Temperance Societies, Police-court Missionaries, and the formation, in thousands of parishes, of Clubs, and the erection of places of recreation, where those who seek recreation may obtain it without being exposed to the fascination of intoxicating drink. A great and a noble work has been done and is now being carried on. But those who are in the thickest of the battle would be the first to say that more is required, that here, as in other city evils, the Church, its own conscience roused, must exercise its prophetic office, and lifting up its voice proclaim with unwearying reiteration the facts of the vice of Intemperance. The Church must demonstrate, again and again, how the conditions of social life are contributory causes, and thus stir the consciences of all men and create public opinion in favour of such reforms as will lessen the evils. "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" is the principle which the Church recognises as Divine, therefore the Church must never weary of proclaiming the want of consideration for the true welfare of the

citizens which our present licensing arrangements exhibit.

It is not for the Church as such to say what shall be done. As I have said before, every 'how' is always a matter for dispute. Whatever individual Churchmen or Church Societies may approve, the Church, as a corporate body, is not wedded to any one scheme. It is the work of individuals, and of the representatives of the nation, to frame schemes of reform, the Church's business is to arouse public opinion to the magnitude of the evil the ruin of city life, the violation of God's law of right living. But when proposals of reform are made the Church must make its voice heard in support of righteousness and justice, even for brewers, distillers and publicans.

If not the direct business of the Church, it is within its province to bring together all citizens whose consciences are quickened, and who are willing to help to roll away the stones of temptation, in order that by consultation they may ascertain how far they are agreed and can cooperate. Such work is especially needed at this juncture when divisions among temperance reformers are the chief hindrance to reform.

There is a large consensus of opinion on the part of those whose consciences are aroused, and there are many lesser reforms concerning which there is little if any dissension. The crucial difficulty is, how the number of licensed places of temptation can be reduced with equity to those whose licenses may be suppressed.

Surely Churchman and Nonconformist, Liberal and Conservative should join hand in hand to secure the reforms on which all are agreed as necessary for the well-being of the city, and men who are in earnest ought to be able by reason and forbearance to arrive at an equitable settlement on the subject of compensation.

A leading statesman in the upper house of Parliament said not very long ago, "this question has got into the hands of the politicians, and all you Rev. and Right Rev. gentlemen won't be able to get it out of party politics." That is just what the Church should endeavour to do.

Amid the clouds which rendered dark and gloomy the opening days of January 1896, the one bright gleam which cheered our hearts was the manner in which the nation stood united, and, in the face of the dangers which threatened, sank all party differences. Surely there is now an opportunity for the National Church, which should know no party in the State, no divisions among men, to use its position to bring together men of all parties and sections, and endeavour to rescue this question of the reform of our licensing laws from the manœuvring of party politics, and raise it to its proper position as a national question of the first importance. In the drunken habits of our people there is a danger greater than any foreign foe, one which yearly slays more victims than a war, and which devastates the homes of our cities.

Gambling.

As is the attitude of the Church to Intemperance, so must be its attitude to Gambling. 1. Direct appeal to the conscience of her members. 2. An endeavour, by the help of those whose consciences are aroused, to remove the conditions which strengthen the temptations to Gambling. I need not follow out the argument, it would be to repeat what I have said with regard to Intemperance. I will merely emphasise one point. While Drunkenness is not increasing Gambling is a growing evil[1]. It was the vice of the well-to-do, the upper and middle classes, then it spread to the artisans and infected every workshop and factory; now it has infected the women and the children. This is partly the consequence of the facilities now given by telegraphic communication, and the manner in which they are used by the press for circulating betting news among those who previously had few inducements to indulge in the vice; partly because of the monotony of toil consequent on extreme division of labour, and the dreary sameness of life in the working class streets of our

[1] "It is very difficult, perhaps impossible, to mark the precise point where the legitimate exercise of forethought on the part of a shrewd business man passes into the speculation of the gambler: but as in so many departments of ethics the path of safety and honour will be found, not in drawing any hard and fast line, but in the careful guarding against the gambling spirit." *Pastoral of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of England.*

towns, which creates a craving for some form of excitement; partly because of the increased rush of modern life and the speculative character of business; partly because the Church has not aroused the consciences of her members to the evil of the idolatry of covetousness. If the idolaters who worship at the shrine of covetousness are to be cast out of the city, the Church must see that their conscience is awakened to perceive that this haste to get rich, this desire to reap where they have not sown, whether it be on the Turf or on the Stock Exchange, is inconsistent with the worship of Christ, and is out of harmony with Christ's revelation of the true laws of life. As long as the Church invites to its public functions, and treats as faithful members, those who are notorious on the Turf, or known as successful gamblers on the Stock Exchange, it will be powerless to stem the tide of Gambling, for the salt will have lost its savour[1].

[1] Many rubrics relating to ritual which had become almost obsolete have been revived. We want the spirit of the rubric concerning notorious evil livers revived and acted on, "If any be an open and notorious evil liver, or have done any wrong to his neighbours by word or deed, so that the congregation be thereby offended, the Curate having knowledge thereof shall call him and advertise him, that in any wise he presume not to come to the Lord's Table until he hath openly declared himself to have truly repented and amended his former naughty life." If a notorious evil liver may not be admitted to the Lord's Table, a notorious evil liver, however high placed, should not be admitted to ecclesiastical functions.

Immorality.

As with the vices of which I have spoken so with Immorality, which like them is a form of self-indulgence deeply seated in our nature; there must be the direct appeal to the conscience, and effort, by those who realise this evil and its degradation, to stir public opinion to remove such incentives and temptations as tend to immoral actions. Here, as in Gambling, the Church is in our day called to renewed effort to rouse the conscience and re-establish the standard of purity; for in that general questioning of all human institutions which has characterised our age, marriage and the moral obligation of purity have been freely attacked. These attacks have been popularised by literary achievements and psychological plays which abound in doubtful situations, and thus the authoritative standard of purity has been weakened and the popular tone lowered.

The Church must emphasise the sanctity of the marriage tie, and the Divine character of the Home as God's training school for true citizenship.

Influence of Towns on Vice.

But why do towns form a soil specially favourable to the development of these vices? There is Drunkenness in the country, but there it rarely ever leads to that degradation which is, alas! so common in towns

where every vestige of self-respect is lost, every article of furniture sold or pawned, and the children, neglected, run wild, half-starved, and in rags. It is only in the towns that miserable drunkards, like Jane Cakebread, are convicted for the hundredth, or two hundredth time, and seem lost to all sense of shame. There is Gambling in the country, but it is much more widespread and more demoralising in the towns. There is Immorality in the country, but, as prostitution, it is in the towns more glaring, more demoralising in form, more ruinous in its effects.

Irresponsible Selfishness.

I think the cause is to be found in that irresponsible selfishness which is developed where men are congregated together in large numbers. In the country each man knows his neighbour and takes an interest in his affairs, and knows that his neighbours reciprocate by interesting themselves in his doings. This makes the restraining influence of public opinion strong.

In towns the individual is lost in the crowd, he neither knows nor cares about his next-door neighbour, and his neighbour does not care about him or his affairs. Each man goes his own way, and, so long as he does not come in conflict with the law, does what is right in his own eyes. Though living amid a crowd the townsman lives a more isolated and selfish life. 'I make no neighbours and keep myself to myself,' expresses the

townsman's idea of correct conduct. In towns, people are very unwilling to express disapproval of a neighbour's conduct. They may see a neighbour is getting into bad company or giving way to self-indulgence, and may regret the fact and pity the family, but they will rarely interfere, or attempt to exercise any influence. It is no business of theirs, a man can do as he likes. Thus a valuable restraining influence is lost.

The isolation of town life is increased by the migratory habits of the people. Who is my neighbour? is a question which loses much of its moral significance when the neighbour is perpetually changing. The very ease of removal from street to street facilitates the massing together of the evil-disposed; like draws to like, and the vicious, living among the vicious, are unrestrained by any opinion or example better than their own.

This spirit of each one having a right to do as he pleases, at any rate as soon as he earns wages, is detrimental to home life[1]. Boys and girls in their teens have no hesitation in leaving home when the fancy takes them, and parents, aware that independence will be early claimed, exercise little authority in the years which precede wage-earning. This weakening of family

[1] "Earning wages before reason is developed and principles are confirmed, children laugh at parental control, and in seeking to become their own masters, become the slaves of their own master passions." Dr Guthrie, *The City*.

ties, and of the sense of mutual responsibility, has much to do with that too common neglect of children which is such a sad feature in town life.

This idea of every man having a right to be a law unto himself, and live his own life in his own way, is essentially selfish, and is at the root of much of our class divisions and jealousies. Each class lives in its own way, knowing little and caring little for other classes. The rich live by themselves at one end of the town in comfort and luxury, and think little of the influence their lives exercise on the lives of other classes; the very poor live at the other end of the town, having little personal knowledge of the rich and little sympathy with them.

Separation—isolation—each man doing what is right in his own eyes—are all anti-social and utterly unchristian, and it is for the Christian Church to endeavour to break down these barriers, and bring home to each man, that he is his brother's keeper, that all are children of one Father, members of one family, and that the true life of man consists, not in selfish isolation, but in realising the fellowship of brotherhood.

These problems of town vices make it clear that the real reform of town life needs something deeper than the mere change of environment, needs quickened conscience and a loftier, nobler ideal of life. This is another way of putting what the revivalist preachers called the need of conversion; this is what they meant

when they proclaimed that the heart of stone must become a heart of flesh. The heart hard as stone, on which sin and suffering and wrong make no impression, becoming filled with the warm blood of a new life—that higher ideal of life which comes from Christ—must become sensitive to every evil, every wrong.

We may solve the problem of the unemployed, reform the Poor Law, secure sanitary dwellings, and increase the opportunities of brightening life by making artistic, scientific and literary interests possible for all; we may diminish the outward temptations to Drunkenness, Gambling and Impurity; but after all, the deepest need of man is the development of the spirit in man, for without that, selfishness and self-indulgence, which are the root of all the evils of our city life, will exist in undiminished strength, and assume new forms.

> "Your Fouriers failed
> Because not men enough to understand
> That life develops from within."

All other things, all changes of environment, are like rolling away the stone which closed the grave of Lazarus—they made it possible for him to come forth when the word of Christ gave life. But there must be the word of Christ if man is to be raised to nobler life, Christ speaking to the conscience of men, convincing them as to the true principles of life, the true way of living.

Thus then the deepest, greatest need of our towns is

religion, for that can develop the spirit of man, that is the mightiest power in the battle against selfishness—that is the power which in its varied forms has all along the ages more than any other power enabled man to sacrifice self and surrender his will—belief in a power higher than his own, whose will must be his law, and in whose service is his true delight. Yes. S. John's vision of the perfect city is a true prophecy. When Drunkenness and Gambling and Immorality and Selfishness are cast outside the city walls, it will be because within the city, the Throne of God is set up on high, and His servants serve Him.

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